TRANSACTIONS OF THE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA

1957-'58

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
MADRAS
1958

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
OF SOUTH INDIA

Transactions for the year 1957-'58

Editorial Sub-Committee

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA
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Published with Aid of a generous Grant from
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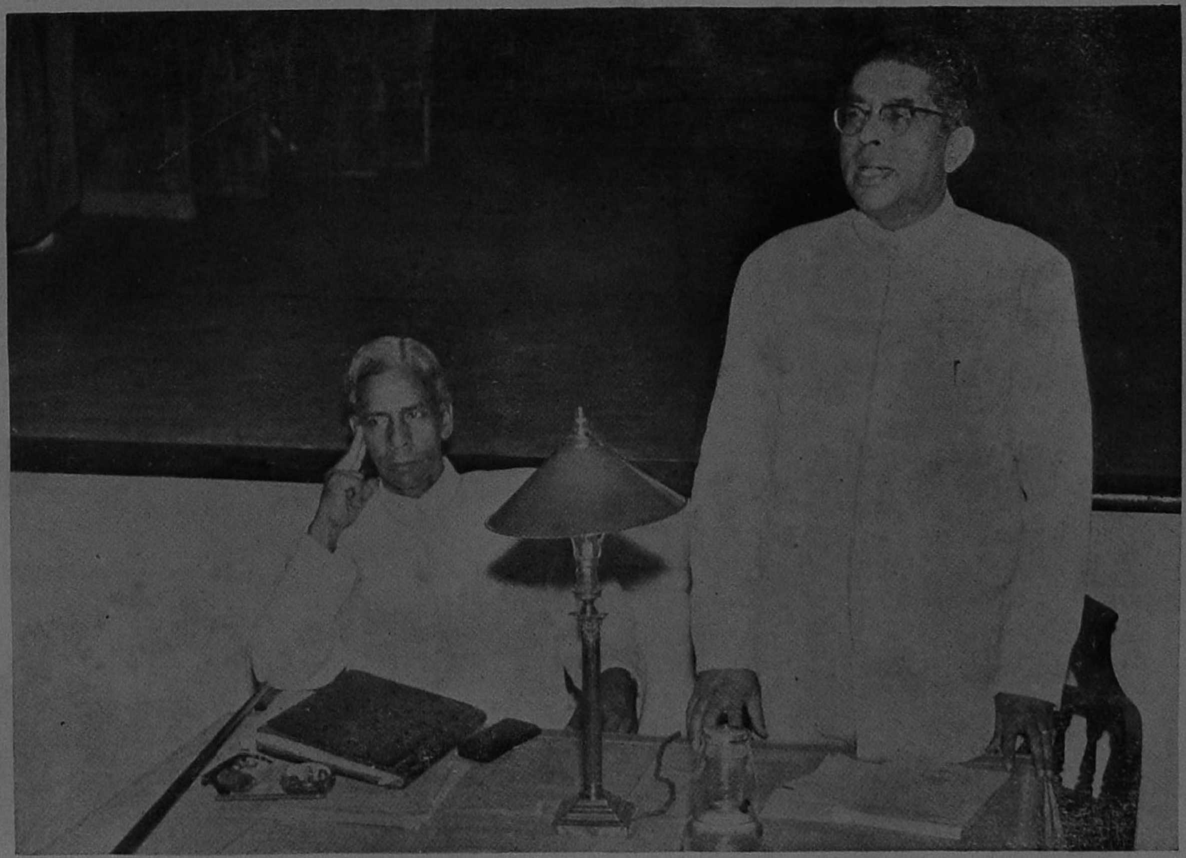
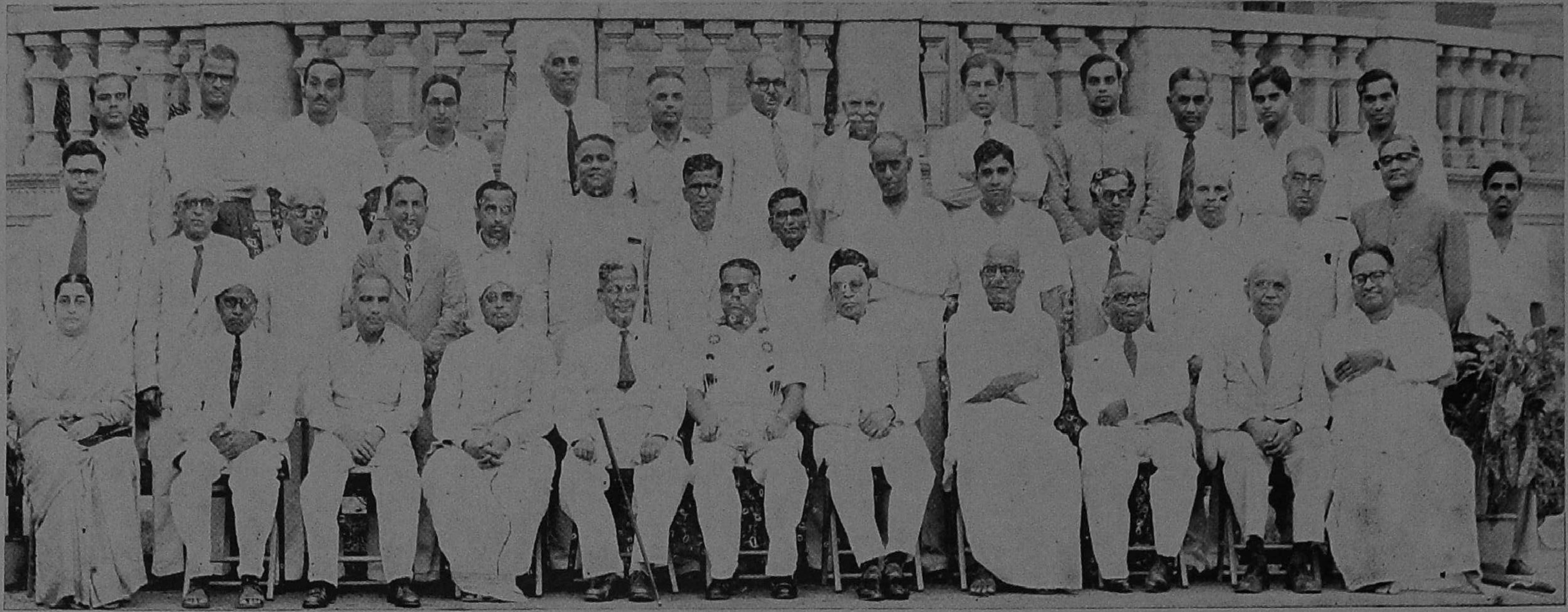
G. S. PRESS, MADRAS



Annual meeting of the Archaeological Society of South India held on 3-8-1957. (Left) Sri Justice A. S. P. Ayyar, President of the Society. (Right) Sri Chief Justice P. V. Rajamannar addressing the Society on the occasion.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA (1957-'58)



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EMBLEM AND MOTTO

The WEALTH, both MATERIAL and CULTURAL, of the PAST, from which has arisen the WEALTH of the PRESENT and from which will grow the WEALTH of the FUTURE, is the subject-matter of ARCHAEOLOGY. THE WEALTH of the three Kālas is symbolised as

Ś R Ī

Seated on Purity, the LOTUS, which rises from Plenty, the WATERS, and in the midst of the Hordes of Substances, the NIDHIS, the Treasures,—which, though symbolically nine, are usually mentioned, for clarity, as two, the ŚANKHA (Conch) and the PADMA (Lotus) NIDHIS,—shone upon by the Light given off by the Substances and lustrated by ELEPHANTS who are the Showerers of the WEALTH of the QUARTERS, SHE causes WEALTH to be attained to by EFFORT, without any giving by Her and without any coming by Her to give, She lacking feet that could walk and hands that could give.

VIJNĀNAM BRAHMĀ

KNOWLEDGE IS TRUTH

The ancient injunction is: MEDITATE ON KNOWLEDGE obtained from SPECIAL ENQUIRY, FOR IT IS TRUTH. The Archaeologist, in his specialised ways, seeks Knowledge for Truth.

The SKETCH copies a sculptured piece of about the 9th century A.D., from Kāvēripākkam, near Kāñchīpuram.

The MOTTO, which is taken from *Taittirīya* Upanishad, being in Samskṛta, is also rendered in the representative languages of the South, and is written in the most ancient characters used for the several languages, as well.

PREFACE

I am happy that the Government of Madras have given us an increased grant of Rs. 2,000 this year, as against the grants of Rs. 1,500 and 1,000 for the two previous years. I hope they will increase their grants in the coming years, and that other State Governments and the Union Government will also help this worthy cause.

Our task of exploring the hidden roots of our ancient culture is progressing apace, though slowly, so that the fruits of the future may correspond with the roots of the past, whatever grafting may be taken in by the eternal *asvattha* tree of our civilisation. Many problems, such as the people who were responsible for the Indus Valley Civilisation, the true founders of the Vikrama and Saka eras, and the exact origin of the Pallavas and Kalabhras, still await final solution. But fresh attempts are being made every day, and we will not desist till they are solved. Though the popular ditty says : —

> "For every problem under the sun,
> There is a solution, or there is none:
> If there be one, try to find it,
> If there is none, never mind it!"

we shall go on trying to find the solutions.

By the uncovering of the Indus Valley Civilisation, archaeologists have uncovered

> "Charming magic casements, opening on the foam
> Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn".

More casements will be opened, and more fairy lands exposed to view, in the days to come, if God so wills.

We are living in one of the most glorious periods of India's long history, when the independence of our four hundred million people has been wrested from a first-class military power, England, without the loss of a single life, by the *mantra* "Quit India" and the non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation,

reminding us of the non-violent victory of Vasishtha with his *darbha* grass over the hordes of Visvạmitra; when the country, for the first time, has become integrated as one unit, though with diverse limbs; when the writs of the Supreme Court and the High Courts run throughout our Indian Union, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Saurashtra to Assam; when the temples have been thrown open to Harijans, a reform which the Buddha could not achieve; when the hundreds of princely States have been merged, a feat which was beyond Asoka; when the frog-in-the-well isolation of India after Asoka has been broken, and our ambassadors are in every country in the world, and every country in the world is sending ambassadors to us; and when a casteless and classless society of the socialistic pattern with Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Justice to all as its motto is the declared goal of our Republic. The heritage of India will from now on be the heritage of all her people regardless of caste, creed, colour, sex, language or State. In this great task, archaeologists too will contribute their mite.

The present volume contains a fascinating article on 'The Devaraja Cult in Kambuja' by our renowned historian, Sri K. A. Nilakanta Sastri; on 'South Indian Jainism' by that indefatigable researcher, Sri K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar; on 'New Light on the Indus Valley Civilisation' by the brilliant scholar and original thinker, Sri T. N. Ramachandran; on 'Pallava Skandaśiṣya' by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, our able Professor of Archaeology; on 'Art and Architecture of Kandiyur' by Sri P. R. Srinivasan, who has the rare faculty of shedding new light on old things; on 'Are Dravidians Dynastic Egyptians?' by that erudite savant, Dr. Cornelius and on 'The Weight Standards of Silver Coins' by Sri B. Ramachandran fully supported by facts and figures. I hope the fare will prove appetising and acceptable.

In conclusion, I thank all the speakers and contributors for their speeches and writings, the members for their co-operation, the Editorial sub-committee for the trouble it has taken in selecting the articles, editing the volume and seeing it through the Press, and the G. S. Press for the neat printing and get-up of the number.

"Gita", Madras-31,
18-8-'58.

A. S. P. AYYAR,
President.

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THE CULT OF DEVARĀJA IN KAMBUJA *

BY

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

The ancient history of South-East Asia, of Indo-China and Indonesia, has, as is well known, been one of the finest creations of the efforts of French and Dutch archaeologists working in these lands during the last half a century and more. Though much work still remains to be accomplished, one very interesting fact has already emerged clearly from these studies; it is that ideas and institutions whose origins and rise can be traced in India proper, were carried over to the colonies, where, under the impact of new conditions, they developed new features unknown in the mother country. It is the aim of this paper to bring together the most important facts relating to one such development which may be described as the Kambujan cult of Devarāja (God-king); not that the idea was unknown elsewhere in the colonies, but the documentation on the history of the cult is much fuller in Kambuja than elsewhere and enables us to trace this history more or less continuously for a period of five centuries and more.

As may be expected, the background of the development is furnished by certain well known Indian concepts and beliefs. These were probably widespread in other countries also, but for the understanding of Far-Eastern developments it would be enough for us to confine our attention to India. The cult of ancestor worship in various forms is at least as old as the Vedic times, perhaps even embodies elements from pre-Vedic India. One of the manifestations of this cult was the creation of a gallery of statues of dead ancestors which was being added to from time to time; readers of Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka* are aware of the Pratimā-gṛha, the house of statues in which the forms of Daśaratha and his ancestors were conserved. Bhāsa must have belonged at the latest to the early centuries B.C. From about the same period we have the unique example of a structure in the neighbourhood of Mathurā, exclusively devoted to a royal cult; from the ruins of this structure have been recovered among others, the headless portrait statues of Wima Kadphises and Kaniṣka. In the manufacture

*A paper read before the Archaeological Society of South India on 23-4-1957.

and installation of these Kuṣāṇa statues foreign influence has been postulated. It has been said: 'Probably this influence is to be traced to the Kuṣāns' knowledge of the Roman practice of erecting likenesses of the deified Caesars or the Parthian commemorations of mortal sovereigns. From the stylistic point of view, the latter possibility seems more probable.'[1] The divine character of Kaniṣka is suggested by the shoulder flames on his coins and his association with the deities of the sun and moon on the drum of the Peshawar reliquary. China, whence probably one of Kaniṣka's successors adopted the title 'Son of Heaven', has also to be thought of as a possible source of influence in this connection. However that may be, we see here a conjunction of the idea of the preservation of portrait statues of dead ancestors, of the idea of the king as God, and of something approaching a royal cult in the form of worship offered to deified kings.

The idea of the king as God was developed in India very early. A parallelism was postulated between God as Viṣṇu ruling the universe and the king ruling his state, and the maxim was evolved *nāviṣṇuḥ pṛthivīpatiḥ*. Precise dates cannot be given in the present state of knowledge; but the development was early, possibly independent of any outside influence, and almost universally prevalent in all India. Even in the extreme south, in the Tamil country, the god's house and the king's palace got the same name *kō-y-il* and were sometimes constructed adjacent to each other.

From the Tamil country we have also several instances of funerary temples called *paḷḷipaḍai-kōyil* erected over the remains of dead kings and princes, as also of the images, perhaps portraits of kings, queens, and princes and princesses, made generally after their death, but sometimes even when they were alive. These instances, attested generally by Coḷa inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries, are relatively late; they are valuable as indicating the persistence of the habit of deifying kings and building temples for them in the aspect of Śiva, generally represented by a *liṅga,* and of the allied habit of commemorating important members of the royal family and perhaps of the nobility by means of portrait images to which worship was offered. These ideas and others which will appear as we go on and which figure in India as discrete elements making up a complex mythology weld themselves in Kambuja into an integrated and aristocratic cult, perhaps more

1. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India* (1954), p. 85.

political and social than religious, and carried much farther than ever was done in India.

The *Caṇḍis* of Java are also funerary temples which are more temples than tombs in the European sense of the term. Writing of the great *stūpa* of Barabudur, the most impressive monument of Central Java, P. Mus writes suggestively: 'We have here a sepulchre which is by itself a veritable temple. It is a tomb-sanctuary . . . The tomb became less the habitation of the dead than a sort of artificial body substituted for mortal remains, a funerary 'cosmic man' where would dwell the magic entity which prolongs (the existence) of the dead. It is a new architectural body, which is, if we so look upon it, the abode of the dead, but only in the manner in which his body had served as his abode when he was alive.'[2] The king while alive lives in a palace constructed of wood and other perishable material, but when he is deified after death, he resides in a temple of stone. These images are often described in inscriptions as 'the body glorious' and were regarded as endowed with life (*prāṇapraiṣṭhā*). Such is he rationale of Barabudur, of the *Caṇḍis* of varying sizes in Java, and of the large number of the great Khmer monuments which are our particular concern in this paper. These great monuments, Coedés points out[3], do not owe their origin to a popular faith as do the cathedrals of mediaeval Europe; they are royal or princely foundations, in which was celebrated the personal cult of the sovereigns and their courtiers, deified under the traits of one of the great gods of the Hindu Buddhist pantheon. It would be a mistake to think of them as places of a public cult analogous to the European churches or modern pagodas. If the common people were admitted there on certain occasions, it was not to enable them to win the favour of the gods by prayers and sacrifices, but rather to give them the chance of prostrating themselves before the God-king or Buddha-king (Devarāja or Buddha-rāja) and those high dignitaries of State who had likewise been deified by apotheosis.

The first specific beginnings of this Devarāja cult in Kambuja proper is traceable to the commencement of the reign of Jayavarman II in A.D. 802. In that year, according to the famous ins-

2. Cited by Coedès in *Pour Mieux Comprendre Angkor* (1947, Paris) p. 60. Translation by present writer.

3. Op. cit. p. 65.

cription of Sdok Kak Thom, 'a brahman named Hiraṇyadāma, skilled in magic and science, came from Janapada, because H. M. Parameśvara (Jayavarman II) had invited him to perform a ceremony that would make it impossible for this country of Kambuja to pay any allegiance to Java and that there should be in this country one sole sovereign who should be *Cakravartin*.' Hiraṇyadāma accordingly performed a ritual according to the four *tantric* texts viz. *Śiraścheda, Vināśikha, Sammoha* and *Nayottara;* he also prepared a ritual for the royal *linga* bestowing upon the king, the cakravartin power of which the *liṅga* was the symbol, and taught the ritual to Śivakaivalya, the royal *hotar* and *purohita,* who in his turn dedicated himself and his descendants to the service of the cult. Again, in the words of the inscription: 'H. M. Parameśvara and the Brahman Hiraṇyadāma gave benedictions and imprecations enjoining that the line Śivakaivalya should officiate for the *devarāja* and that it should be forbidden for others so to officiate. The *Steñañ* Śivakaivalya, *purohita,* designated all his family to officiate.' The temple of the god-king was located on Mahendraparvata, Phnom Kulen at the source of the Siemreap river, a little to the north-east of Angkor Thom.

We must note here that the essence of royalty or, as some texts put it, the subtle self of the king is considered to reside in a *liṅga,* symbol of the creative power of Śiva, placed in a pyramid at the centre of the royal city which is supposed itself to be situated on the axis of the world. This miraculous *liṅga,* the palladium of royalty, is generally considered to have been obtained from Śiva by the mediation of a Brahman devotee who transfers it to the founder of the royal dynasty. This mediation between God and man (royalty) by a priest is held to take place on a holy mountain, natural and artificial — a conception which takes us back to ancient Mesopotamian beliefs. Many Indian dynasties had their holy mountains; and the kings of Fu-nan, the forerunner of Kambuja, had theirs in the hill of Ba Phnom, which gives the name Fu-nan to the kingdom of which we hear only in early Chinese annals. These kings called themselves Śaila-rājas, kings of the mountain, and apparently laid claims to universal sovereignty — Cakravarti-ship. From them the claim to Cakravarti-ship appears to have passed on to the Śailendra rulers of Java in the eighth century A.D.; the Javanese rulers asserted their claims actively by a number of naval raids on Indo-China and perhaps by the levying of tributes from the states in the region,

In one of the raids, the Javanese Mahārāja beheaded a king of Fu-nan, according to legend, which says that this was the reprisal for a rash statement of the king of Fu-nan that he wanted to have the head of the Mahārāja presented to him on a platter. The Mahārāja's action is said to have enhanced his prestige in the neighbouring countries. And when the Mahārāja wanted the courtiers of the beheaded king to choose his successor, it is probable that their choice fell on Jayavarman II; the approval of the Mahārāja was of course necessary, and it is probable that Jayavarman paid a visit of homage to that sovereign's court in Java and returned to his own country some time before 802 when he proclaimed his independence of Java by formal ritual and coronation in the manner noticed above.[4]

In the succeeding centuries the installation of Jayavarman II on Phnom Kulen was looked upon as the commencement of a new era and in the inscriptions he is designated as 'the King who established his residence on the summit of Mount Mahendra.' Yet during his lifetime Jayavarman seems to have experimented with other capitals both before and after his establishment at Mahendraparvata (Phnom Kulen). And in these capitals also there were shrines to Devarāja, and what is more, the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom makes it clear that the royal *purohita* Śivakaivalya, so long as he lived, followed the king like a shadow wherever he went. One of the earlier capitals was Amarendrapura, in the immediate vicinity of the present Angkor Thom region, on the southern dike of the west Baray, near the western end. Here Jayavarman II consecrated a *liṅga* under the name Gambhīreśvara in 'a three-staged, five-towered pyramid temple, the forerunner of the Khmer terrace temples of *Devarāja,* which culminated in the famous Viṣṇuite temple of Angkor Vat.' This was perhaps in the later years of the eighth century.[5] The monument is now known as Prasat Ak Yom. Even an earlier capital than Amarendrapura was Hariharālaya to which the king returned some time after founding the capital of Mahendraparvata. It is not easy to fix the exact location of the capital and temple of Jayavarman at Hariharālaya, a place which was in existence on the north-east bank of the Great Lake before Jayavarman's time. Coedès has pointed

4. L. P. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire* (Philadelphia, 1951), p. 81.
5. Ibid, p. 85.

out that the two stages of the development seen in the temple of Trapeong Phong correspond to the two sojourns of Jayavarman II at Hariharālaya and suggest possible locations of the city.[6] However that may be, the Sdok Kak Thom inscription records of the second sojourn: 'Then H. M. Parameśvara, the king, returned as *Kuruṅ* (king) to the royal city of Hariharālaya and the *devarāja* was brought back there also. The *steṅ añ* (Deva) Śivakaivalya and his entire family officiated according to the established order.' Also, 'the *steṅ añ* Śivakaivalya died under this reign. H. M. Parameśvara died also when he was in the royal city of Hariharālaya. The *devarāja* changed residence according to the capitals where the monarch conducted him to watch over the royal power of the monarchs who succeeded each other'.[7]

Thus we see that the beginnings of the cult lie in the concept of the Lord of the Mountain (Śailarāja) prevalent in the early kingdom of Fu-nan. There too the royal *liṅga*, under the name Maheśvara was placed on a hill and the worship of this *liṅga* was evidently recognized already as a state cult. Early in the sixth century, a king of Fu-nan also called Jayavarman, sent Nāgasena, an Indian monk, as ambassador to China, and that monk told the Chinese emperor that it was the custom of Fu-nan to render a cult to the god Maheśvara and that the god makes super-natural power descend constantly on Mount Motan. He added: 'He spreads goodness in the world and his beneficient influence acts on the living. All the kings receive his benefits and the entire people are calm. It is because this benefit descends on all that his subjects have submissive sentiments'. This is doubtless a reference to the temple on Ba Phnom. With the fall of Fu-nan, the title Śailarāja with its implication of universal sovereignty was adopted in a slightly different form by the Javanese Śailendra rulers who held parts of Indo-China including the area of what had been the original kingdom of Fu-nan under their subjection; and Jayavarman II regained the independence of Kambuja from Javanese control and solemnly re-established the cult in his country to mark the new era that had dawned. From this time must be taken to begin the development of the political importance and the cosmic symbolism which gathered

6. Briggs, op. cit. p. 84.
7. cited by Briggs, p. 94.

round the cult in the course of centuries. The final result of the development is thus summed up by Coedès: 'It is then no exaggeration to say that the great god of ancient Cambodia, to whom were consecrated the grandest architectural groups, at any rate the monuments in the form of pyramids or temple-mountains, was the king. At the summit of this mountain marking at once the centre of the royal city and the centre of the universe, the king by the medium of his consecrated image entered into relation with the divine world'.[8] Let us now trace the principal stages in this significant development.

In the pre-Angkor period, and in the early part of the Angkor period till the end of the tenth century, the gods bore the same title as the king, the princes and high dignitaries: *Kamrateng anh* which means 'My Lord'. From the second half of the tenth century, we find the general use of the formula *Kamrateng Jagat* meaning 'Lord of the Universe', which supplanted *Kamrateng anh* as the designation of gods. This carried the advantage of establishing a clear distinction between the world of men and the world of gods, a distinction which became indispensable from the time when the erection of personal statues came to be general. It permitted in effect the conferment of a veritable promotion, generally but not necessarily posthumous, to a prince or a dignitary who from being *Kamrateng anh* became *Kamrateng Jagat* under the aspect of a statue with divine attributes. Epigraphy gives several indications on the concepts which underlay this cult of great men, a cult which was not more Hinduist than Buddhist, and which was not even strictly funerary, because it included, as we see from known examples, the erection of statues to persons still living. In the concluding stanzas of inscriptions, the royal founders recommend to their descendants the continuation of the cult and the maintenance of the temple confided to their charge; the tone of these verses is one of vehement supplication, nearly tragic in character, which betrays their great concern for their happiness beyond the grave, for their survival in the other world.[9]

In the ninth century the region of Angkor exhibits the first great group of monuments consecrated to the royal funerary cult;

8. Coedès, op. cit. p. 63.
9. Ibid. pp. 49, 55.

it is the group of Roluos, twenty kilometres to the south-east of Angkor, and includes the temples of Bakong, of Prah kô and of Lolei. This group reveals the connection between the funerary cult and that of Devarāja. When king Indravarman erected in 881 the *devārāja* at Bakong under the name Indreśvara, he also constructed the six towers of Prah kô, sheltering under the aspects of Śiva and his spouse, the statues of his parents, of his maternal grand parents, and of his predecessor Jayavarman II. At Lolei, in 893, the son and successor of Indravarman, Yaśovarman (889-910), the founder of Angkor, raised the statues of his parents and maternal grand parents. All these images carry names of which the first part corresponds to the nobiliary title borne by the prince or princess when alive and is followed in the second by the *Īśvara* or *devī* ending according to sex.

In the following century king Rājendravarman (944-68) consecrated in 952 and 961 the monuments known under the names of eastern Mebon and of Pré Rup to the memory of his parents. In this reign, according to Briggs, the worship of ancestors took on a peculiar manifestation. Heretofore pyramid-temples had been identified exclusively with the worship of the *devarāja,* and the temples devoted to the worship of ancestors were grouped in rows on a platform elevated a little above the surrounding level; all pyramid-temples were 'Central mounts, representing Mount Meru, the centre of the universe, and became the mausolea of the kings concerned after their death; a new *devarāja* and a new pyramid-temple for him came into existence with the successor. In the reign of Rājendravarman II, however, we come across pyramid temples, which had never been central mounts, consecrated to the *linga* of a king after his death (Baksei Chamkrong) and during his life (Mebon and Pré Rup). Mebon and Pré Rup appear to have been *devarāja* shrines during the king's life-time, and funerary temples after his death. The images of ancestors were here found in the other four towers of the quincunx. Much is uncertain here and not as well established as one would like. The conclusion of Briggs must therefore be cited in his own words: 'These sanctuaries indicate that a pyramid temple could be devoted, in part at least, to the cult of ancestor-worship. (Perhaps this usage had existed at Bakong and Bakheng). It also indicated that more than one image of the *devarāja* could exist during one reign and that such an image could be set up

and receive a cult in a pyramid-temple not the Central Mount'.[10] Coedès sums up the position more cautiously and in more general terms thus: 'Official cult of the god-king, cult of ancestors or of divinised heroes, erection by one individual of the image of his parents or his own image with a view to strengthen the cult, such are the diverse aspects of this essentially aristocratic religion. Hinduism and Buddhism have given the frame in which have developed the funerary rites anterior to the Hinduisation of external India and common to all the monsoon lands of Asia.[11]

It is well known that Java has a number of portrait images of kings and queens with similar associations in the same centuries as Kambuja—that of Airlanga as the Viṣṇu of Belahan between two Lakṣmīs, perhaps images of his queens, being one of the best examples.

Angkor Vat was obviously a Viṣṇuite sanctuary, but the Viṣṇu worshipped in it was not the ancient Hindu god of that name, nor even any of his traditional incarnations, but king Sūryavarman II (A.D. 1118-50) identified, after his death, with Viṣṇu, consubstantial with him, and residing in his mausoleum fully adorned by gracious figures of *apsaras* just as Viṣṇu resides in his celestial palace. The growing popularity of Viṣṇuism was replacing or at least modifying the worship of *devarāja,* and we hear less now of the *purohita* or grand priest of the *devarāja-liṅga.* It was perhaps another instance of syncretism, this time between Śaivism and Viṣṇuism. At the beginning of the seventh century, early in the reign of Īśānavarman I of Chen-la, Harihara, a combination of Viṣṇu and Śiva, had been the prevailing deity. Later inscriptions record foundations and erections dedicated to the same deity under the name Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa. An inscription of Vat Phu (1122) records in the reign of Sūryavarman II himself the erection of such an image in the 'Vrah Prang' or holy pyramid, probably Angkor Vat itself. The cult of *devarāja,* revived by Udayādityavarman II and his successors after the Mahāyānist interlude under Sūryavarman I (1011-1050), seems once more to have been superseded, at least for a time, by that of Viṣṇurāja, and the pyramid-temple, associated from the beginning with the worship of the *liṅga,* seems to have been appropriated by the

10. p. 133.
11. *Pour Mieux Comprendre Angkor,* p. 64. Translation by present writer.

new cult. There may have been two deities worshipped in the capital at this time, according to Briggs. He says: 'An image of Viṣṇu-Sūryavarman, which seems to have been a sort of Viṣṇurāja, was undoubtedly the central deity of Angkor Vat. Its chief priest was apparently Divākarapaṇḍita, reputed founder of that temple and apparently the chief architect of the merger of Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, which seems to have been going on for some years and to have been nearly complete at the end of this reign. There may have been also, at the capital, a sort of impersonal *devarāja*—a *Kamrateng Jagat ta rājya.* "God of the royalty, of the kingdom". The chief priest of this deity—successor to the former *purohitas*—if such a deity existed, may have been also Divākarapaṇḍita, but was more probably the head of one of the prominent Śivaite families.' (p. 194) Much of this is obviously speculative, though probable.

Were the bodies or ashes of a great personage deemed to be the relics of a mortal or of a god? Was the monument in which they were placed a tomb or a temple? Everything seems to point to the answer that they were both in external India. Stutterheim has drawn attention to the divine cult rendered to the remains of Balinese princes. His description is worth quoting at some length:[12] 'After the body of the dead king was cremated, numerous rites were performed in order to convey his soul, liberated from earthly bonds, to heaven. At a certain time after their completion one more ceremony had to be held; it was to give to the dead final and complete deliverance and bring him outside the circle of ceaseless reincarnations. To this end his soul was called to incarnate itself temporarily into a "flower-body" (*puṣpaśarīra*) which contained his ashes. Then the *puṣpaśarīra* was burnt and its ashes solemnly thrown into the sea. A part of the king's ashes, however, was retained'.

'Sometime after this ceremony, which corresponded to the Indian *śrāddha,* it was customary to consecrate a special piece of ground, to dig a pit and bury therein the conserved part of the king's ashes (his soul now dwelling in the highest heavens). When the pit was closed, they placed over it a stone image. This image represents the deity whose incarnation the dead king was

12. *Indian Influences in Old Balinese Art* (1935), pp. 22-5.

supposed to have been during his life-time. But certain deviations from the traditional representations of that god indicated that the figure was not intended to be an image of the god himself, but only one of his incarnations. Furthermore, there was frequently erected round such a figure a stone structure similar in shape to Indian temples; in former times it was known under the name *prāsāda,* but now it is generally referred to in Java by the word *Caṇḍi,* which is probably derived from *Caṇḍigṛha* — House of the Goddess of Death. Finally, divine worship was offered thereafter to the dead king by his successors, in a certain month of every year, and on these occasions the soul of the dead was supposed to enter the stone image. Thus it was possible to maintain magic contact with the ancestors of the dynasty. . . . No images other than for decorative purposes were made in the Balinese temples, for the gods came to the temples only on big feasts, and upon their termination they returned to the mountains where they lived. This conception, in many respects so different from the classical Indian view, is undoubtedly due to the persistently enduring influences of the ancestor cult. wherein gods were regarded primarily as forefathers, dwelling in their heaven on the mountain?

'That the above sketched cult of kings was of extreme importance to a reigning dynasty is evident from many passages in the old literature of Java; as long as the *Caṇḍi* and its consecrated contents endured as a source of magic power for the dynasty, this power could, at most, be subjected for a time only; its capacity to rise again was, however, ensured. Victorious kings, having conquered a rival, desired to abolish for ever the possibility of restoration of the latter's dynastic power by ruining his holy *Caṇḍis.* For the *Caṇḍis* were, indeed, the vulnerable and hence carefully protected heart of the royal houses'.

At Java one may think of the Śiva temple at Prambanan, whence a reliquary was recovered, as the tomb of king Balitung, though it has all the appearance of a temple and is oriented to the east. Moreover, it has been noticed that in many funerary monuments having all the characteristics of a Hindu temple, the order of the bas-reliefs indicates that in them circumambulation was practised in an *apradakṣiṇa* form, with the left side of the worshipper turned to the monument and not the right as in the *pradikṣiṇa* form practised in temples proper. In Cambodia sar-

cophagi have been discovered in many edifices open on the east as well as at Angkor Vat which is oriented to the west. The monuments of the reign of Jayavarman VII, however, were obviously built and conceived of as temples; they shelter divine images of *devas* and *bodhisattvas,* and circumambulation was practised in them in the usual *pradakṣiṇa* form; yet the cult there did not lack a funerary character in the sense of being addressed to dead persons. 'Temple or tomb? My opinion', says Coedès,[13] 'revised as the result of a deeper study of Javano-Balinese facts, and of the discovery of the sarcophagi of Angkor, is that it is necessary henceforth to answer: temple *and* tomb. Angkor Vat is the last residence of a being who in his life enjoyed certain divine prerogatives and whom death served to assimilate to a god. It is the funerary palace in which reposed his mortal remains, but where also stood his statue representing him under the traits of a god.....For designating a construction of this type, where the central idol was placed over the body or the ashes of a king whom it represented under divine traits, I do not find any other expression than "funerary temple" or "mausoleum".'

We may now turn for a moment to a consideration of the architectural symbolism of the city and the pyramid-temple. Some basic conceptions of cosmology common to all the monsoon lands of Asia have thus been summed up by Heine-Geldern:[14] 'The reciprocal relations between cosmology and architecture in the civilised countries of Indo-China and Indonesia have already been mentioned by divers authors, but they have not yet been expounded in their full significance and general importance in furnishing inspiration to all colonial Hindu architecture. They rest on a conception of the world (Weltanschaung), ultimately originating in the ancient East, which believes in a magic relation between microcosm and macrocosm, between humanity and the universe, between terrestrial manifestations on the one part, and the cardinal points and constellations on the other. According to this belief, the elements, colours, animals, plants, stones and metals, the parts of the body and the characters, all the occurrences of life, age, and sex, asceticism and enjoyment, birth and

13. op. cit. p. 84.

14. *Weltbild und Bauform in Südostasien* by Robert Von Heine-Geldern, in Weiner Beitrage zur Kunst und Kultur Asiens, 1930—cited by Coedès, op. cit. p. 87.

decease, life and death are distributed between the parts of space and the stars which fix the destiny, and have their 'magic position' determined in the edifice of the universe, and their 'magic time' bound with the march of the planets. Humanity finds itself permanently under the influence of cosmic forces which produce prosperity or ruin, according as man prepares to put his being and his activity in harmony with these forces. Much more than in the case of individuals, this belief applies to social units: state, town, monastery, which can prosper only if they are in harmony with the laws of the universe. They sought then to realise this harmony in fashioning the capital, the palace, the temple, and the monastery as microcosms, as replicas of the cosmological edifice; and in integrating the court, the administration, the provincial divisions, the measures, weights, moneys and usages and arts in these cadres, according to place and time, confirming to the laws of nature'. The plan of Angkor with its wall, its moats, its central temple and its gates, the temples in the form of pyramids crowned or not by a quincunx of towers, the bridges with *nāga* balustrades, and the monuments so complicated in plan as N'eak Pān or the Bayon, are only the translation in stone of the grand myths of Hindu cosmology, calculated to realise here below, in our world and on a terrestrial scale, the whole or part of the divine world; this assures to the country a perfect correspondence, an intimate harmony between the two worlds without which it is impossible for men to attain prosperity.

Both the Brahmanical and Buddhist conceptions of the central continent of Jambūdvīpa rest on the idea of a central mountain, Meru, pivot of a world which is bounded on the outside by a high wall abutting the ocean. In Angkor the essential fact is that the central temple of the town should be considered as being the Mount Meru, the enclosing wall as the high wall which encloses the universe, and the moat full of water as the ocean. This identification is not a product of the imagination of modern interpreters, but a commonplace thought of ancient times fully current in literature and often used and abused by the composers of Sanskrit inscriptions engraved in the temples of ancient Kambuja. For instance, in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. when Udayādityavarman II constructed the Baphuon at the centre of a town anterior to Angkor Thom, it was recorded: 'he thought that because the centre of the universe is marked by Meru, it was proper that his

capital had a Meru in its middle'. The pyramidal Bakong constructed in 881 at the centre of Hariharālaya is the oldest known example of a stone temple standing for Meru; two earlier structures making timid attempts at erecting a brick pyramid are known viz. the Prasat Ak Yom to the south of Western Baray, and Rong Chen on the Kulen. The same stone pyramid form recurs at Bakheng erected by Yaśovarman I on the summit of a natural hillock marking the centre of the first Angkor; at Koh Ker, the ephemeral capital of Jayavarman IV; at Phimeanakas of Jayavarman V; at Baphuon of Udayādityavarman II. This plan has been adopted later even for some great temples which did not mark the centre of the capital, but which were royal mausolea: Mèbon, Pré Rup, Takèo, Angkor Vat. About the construction of eastern Mèbon, we read in an inscription: 'In the middle of this ocean which is the holy tank of Yaśodhara, he erected a mountain, having a summit similar to that of Meru, covered by *prasats* and sanctuaries encased in stucco'—another confirmation of the central idea underlying these monuments.

These pyramidal monuments are often described as crest-jewels (*cūḍāmaṇi*) or in other terms of similar import; this description befits the role of these temples which, even when situated on a plain as they are sometimes, serve as the 'high place' whence the world of men enters into relation and establishes communication with the world of the gods. The reception of the *devarāja liṅga* from on high by the mediation of a Brāhmaṇa priest has already been mentioned, and this is usually conceived of as taking place originally on a high and holy mountain, and as being renewed every day in the temple-mountain marking the centre of the capital. Just as mount Meru in some way pierces the celestial vault and carries on its summit the lowest of the heavens, likewise the tower of the central temple of the royal city establishes a liaison between men and gods by the intermediary of the king who is a god on the earth. It is in fact the same function as was fulfilled by the Zikkurat in Mesopotamia, of which the most celebrated example was that of Babylon, 'the tower of Babel'. Of this tower Herodotus noted that it had a submerged part beneath the soil equal in its depth to the part visible above the soil. Similarly in Indian cosmology, mount Meru is continued below the surface by a subterranean and sub-oceanic Meru, because the axis of the universe should reach right to its bottom. It is for this

reason that in the bas-reliefs of Bayon the Meru is often represented as having its base encased in an enormous fish, symbol of the ocean.

Architecturally, the idea of reproducing in stone and on a human scale the subterranean prolongation of Meru has led the Khmer architects to cover up in many places the sculptured basements of their towers by blocks of stone decorated in the same manner. This blocking up, not to be explained by any practical or logical need, is clearly seen at the base of the central tower of Baphuon conceived as a reduced image of the Meru. This same symbolism is found again in a striking form in Java in the hidden sculptured basement of the famous monument of Barabudur, where a whole terrace, the lowest, is voluntarily covered up and is seen to contain sculptured scenes of life in the inferior world, the life of desire and sensual pleasures.

That these cosmological ideas were quite alive at the time of the restoration of Angkor by Jayavarman VII (1181-1215) becomes clear from the inscriptions placed by him at the four angles of the wall of Angkor Thom which compare the wall to the chain of mountains which enclose the universe and the moat of the city to the ocean which encircles the chain: 'The summit of the one touches the radiant sky; the unfathomable depth of the other touches the world of serpents; this mountain of victory (*Jayagiri*) and this ocean of victory (*Jayasindhu*) constructed by this king imitate the arc of his immense glory'. Even now, a modern town like Phnon Penh, which has neither wall or moat, is considered a microcosm, for on the day of his consecration the king of Cambodia imitates the action of the universal monarchs of old in taking possession of the world by a symbolic circumambulation of it along the shores of the external ocean. The cosmic character of the royal promenade is still emphasised by the king taking successively four different means of transport and changing his coiffure four times, assuming each time the costume and the mount of one of the rulers of the cardinal directions.

-In Hindu cosmology again the rainbow represents the idea of union between men and gods. P. Mus has shown from numerous indications that the bridges with the balustrades of Nāgas are replicas of the rain-bow which enable one to cross the ditches and thus pass from the world of men to the world of the gods represented on earth by the microcosm of the royal city. In the Far East as

in India the rainbow is compared to a multi-coloured serpent which rises from abysmal depths and stands erect in the sky or drinks the water of the sea. Sometimes it is a case of two serpents as the rain-bow is double on occasions. It is evident that it is this double rain-bow, marking out a divine path in space that has inspired the construction of a balustrade of a nāga on each side of the bridges which represent the divine way on the earth. Each one of these bridges abuts on one of the gateways of the city which reproduce at the four cardinal points, under a reduced and schematic form, the main features of the central temple. They materialise in the four directions of space, the expansion, the projection of royal power starting from this temple whence as Mus puts it 'a double power; secular and divine, beams forth from the person of the king and spreads upon the earth'. These gates of Angkor Thom exhibit in the angle recessess of their façades a large three-headed elephant surmounted by Indra, the bearer of thunder and master of the (*trayastrimśa*) heaven of the thirty-three gods. Now, the rainbow is the bow of Indra (*Indra Dhanus*) and the representation of Indra at the end of the bridge which corresponds as it were to the top of the ladder leading to the divine world materialised on earth by the royal city thus accentuates the symbolism of the bridge with the *nāga*-balustrade.

There is also another aspect of the symbolism. The representation of the long rows of gods and giants holding up the Nāgas on either side recalls the myth of the churning of the ocean of which the principal features as seen here are: the ocean represented by the moats of the city, the mountain-pivot which is the wall or more exactly the gateway, and the *nāga* of the balustrade representing the cosmic serpent which served as a cord for the gods and giants fixing the mountain in the middle of the ocean to churn it for extracting the elixir of immortality (*amṛta*). This theme from the Hindu Purāṇas was also quite commonly handled by the court-poets of Kambuja in many of their compositions, epigraphical and literary. Jayavarman VII the protégé of victory, gave, as we have seen the name *Jayagiri* to the enclosing wall and *Jayasindhu* to the moat-ocean. After what has been said already about the symbolism of the royal city, it may not be too much to find in this representation of the churning of the ocean a kind of magic operation calculated to assure to his country victory in war and plenty in peace together with the happiness of immortality.

The numerous friezes of *hamsas* and *apsaras* on the walls of Angkor are not simply decorative motifs calculated to relieve monotony; the scenes represented in sculpture have also an evocative value. Their presence animates the temple in some way, and the magic power of the divine image makes the monument a veritable heaven. The *apsaras* do not merely please the eye, but transform this cold stone monument into a veritable celestial palace. The legendary or mythological bas-reliefs which decorate the galleries of Angkor Vat, Bayon and Banteay Chmar have also a similar purpose. It would be wrong to attribute to them a purely aesthetic aim. Just as an image made according to the canon and duly consecrated by proper rites becomes the god himself, so also a bas-relief representing an episode or legend enlivens the temple. Nor should it be matter for surprise that carefully sculptured scenes are tucked away in inaccessible and obscure spots where they can be seen by nobody; for they were not put in there for the edification of the visitor, but for materialising the heavenly world on earth. And this consideration applies also to the historical bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat and of Bayon, for if it be true that Angkor Vat was the funerary temple of king Sūryavarman II divinised as Viṣṇu, and that the Bayon was the temple of the royal deity viz. an image of Jayavarman VII as Buddha, the representation at Angkor Vat of Sūryavarman II in the midst of his court, and at Bayon of the diverse episodes of the life of Jayavarman VII had the object of enlivening these edifices by the real presence of these sovereigns.

For the ancient Khmers then architecture and decoration were at least in part the means of expressing the pre-established harmony between the human and the divine, between our world and the universe. Their genius lay in reconciling the ritual necessity of constructing a town which was a microcosm and of temples which were mountains with the natural desire to build a habitable city and temples pleasing to the eye. They were doubtless the inheritors of a long artistic Hindu tradition to which they sought to conform and perhaps it was enough for them to do so. Yet there were differences. In India proper, in fact, there has never been found any statue of a deceased king represented with the features of a god. Nor do we find edifices in pyramidal form crowned by five towers in quincunx. This feature so characteristic of Khmer architecture is an innovation the more remarkable because it corresponds better than all other parts of the

temple mountain to the earthly replica of Mount Meru with its five summits. And this symbolism seems to have grown firmer in its hold on the minds of men with the lapse of time.

Many new developments are traceable to the time of Jayavarman VII. In his time came the idea of employing the bridges with *nāga*-balustrades for symbolising the churning of the ocean for nectar, of reproducing in all its details the legendary lake on the Himālaya, and of adorning the towers of the central temple with the portrait of the king so as to proclaim his omnipresence. After the spell of Viṣṇuism under Sūryavarman II, Mahāyānism became the dominant religion in Kambuja under Jayavarman VII, and for the first time in Cambodian history we see a great central temple, the Bayon, dedicated to a Buddhist cult. It is possible, however, that an earlier temple on the same site of the time of Sūryavarman I (1002-50), the first Buddhist king of Kambuja who came from Tambralinga, was also dedicated to the Buddha.

We have noted that under Sūryavarman II the syncretism of Śaivism and Viṣṇuism perhaps led to the substitution of a Viṣṇurāja for the *devarāja liṅga* and the adoption of the pyramid form for the Viṣṇuite temple of Angkor Vat. More certain it is that under Jayavarman VII Buddharāja was substituted in this place and that the Bayon was transformed into his pyramid-temple even during the course of its construction. There is little doubt that the great Buddha found in 1933 (by Trouvé) in a pit under the central tower of the Bayon is the Buddhist substitute for *devarāja*, under the features of Jayavarman VII which are well known from bas-reliefs. At the beginning of his reign Jayavarman apparently began to look upon himself as the living Buddha. In 1186 his mother is represented in an inscription (of Ta Prohm) as Prajñāpāramitā, and he himself is identified with the Buddha in the Preah Khan inscription (1191). This inscription also mentions the erection in various parts of the empire of twenty-three images under the name of Jayabuddhamahānātha. Jaya, as Coedès has pointed out, is a 'hall-mark' of Jayavarman's foundations, and Jayabuddha is obviously Jayavaraman VII apotheosized as the Buddha. And as Briggs points out:[15] 'Mahānātha, the great saviour, is an epithet which could be applied to no one better than

15. op. cit. p. 229.

to Jayavarman VII, who won his country back from the Chams and drove them out of it.' The example of Sūryavarman II who substituted a Viṣṇurāja at Angkor Vat for the *devarāja* must have suggested the idea of the Bayon being planned as a shrine of Buddharāja. Ideas which had been simmering in Jayavarman's mind from the beginning took concrete shape in the coure of some years, and he decided to dedicate the central temple under construction to Buddharāja, and the result was the Bayon and the enormous statue of the Buddha recently found there as noted above. The Bayon constructed at the end of the twelfth century is then a symbolic representation of the cosmic mountain, axis of the universe planted at the centre of the capital which is itself a microcosm marking the centre of the kingdom. Its galleries and its chapels, with their innumerable idols, constitute a veritable pantheon, the sum of the personal cults and local practices in the different parts of the empire. At the summit, in the axis of the world, was enthroned the statue of the royal founder, Jayavarman VII, the Buddha-rāja. The bas-reliefs depicting the episodes of the life of Jayavarman VII are calculated to enliven the edifice by the real presence of the sovereign.[16] As to the faces on the numerous towers which reproduce the king's traits under the aspect of the compassionate Bodhisattva, their multiplication, representing the grand miracle of Lokeśvara Samantamukha (with faces on all sides), affirms the omnipresence of the king and his power over all the provinces of the realm. The Bayon, centre of the world, of the Khmer world, is the mystic spot to which converge all the local cults of the country and whence emanates the divine power of the Buddha-rāja which spreads itself throughout his empire.

This adaptation of Buddhism to the old Śaivite cult of the *devarāja* did not survive the sovereign who had effected it. It is clear from many sources that his reign in which at least the aristocracy professed a fervid Buddhist mysticism was followed by a violent Brahmanic reaction accompanied by acts of vandalism of which the Bayon and the other monuments of the time bear many traces. In this period, the middle of thirteenth century, Buddhist chapels were destroyed, the great Buddha of the Bayon was smashed and thrown in fragments into the pits under his pedestal, and Buddhist images were cast down and replaced by *liṅgas*

16. Coedes, op. cit. p. 149.

and other Śaiva symbols. These last in their turn suffered at the hands of a new form of Buddhism which came from Ceylon by way of Burma and Siam and installed itself definitely in Cambodia which it dominates to this day.

The reign of Jayavarman VII also witnessed an extreme development of the ancestor cult. The stele of Ta Prohm dated 1186, already mentioned, and that of Preah Khan of Angkor, found in 1939, are of importance here. The two records resemble each other and have many stanzas in common. The Ta Prohm record begins with invocations to the Triratna, to Lokeśvara and to Prajñāpāramitā as the mystic mother of the Buddha. After tracing the genealogy of king Jayavarman VII, it records that at his coronation the king erected an image of his *guru* Mangalārthadeva, surrounded by an entourage of 260 divinities and provided endowments for daily oblations on an unheard of scale, and that at an annual fete offerings are to be made 'to the 619 divinities which are here.' We may note incidentally that a later inscription executed by the crown prince Sūryakumāra, son of Jayavarman VII, makes it clear that Ta Prohm was the funerary temple of the mother of Jayavarman VII under the traits of Prajñāpāramitā. The stele of Preah Khan commemorates the foundation at this monument in 1191 of a statue of Lokeśvara under the lineaments of the father of Jayavarman VII, i.e., Dharaṇīndravarman called Jayavarmeśvara in the inscription. In this temple the number of small statues surrounding the central one was nearly twice as great—515 to 260—as that of Ta Prohm and the oblations provided were on a much larger scale. 'We know', says Coedés, 'the names of many of these 515 idols, thanks to the little inscriptions carved on the pillars of the doors of the chapels, which are so characteristic of the monuments of the epoch of Jayavarman VII. These idols were almost all, if not all, funerary images, i.e. statues of princes, princesses or dignitaries, raised to the honours of apotheosis, and represented under the traits of a Buddhic divinity, principally Lokeśvara for the men, Tārā or Prajñāpāramitā for the women.'[17]

But the advent of Hīnayāna sounded the death knell not only of Śaivism but of the ancient cult of the god-king as well. From the day the sovereign ceased to be Śiva or Viṣṇu descended on earth like the old kings of Angkor, or the living Buddha like Jayavar-

17. Briggs, op. cit. p. 222.

man VII, the royal dynasty ceased to inspire in the people that religious respect and fervour which enabled them to accomplish great things. Undermined by the anarchic spirit of Sinhalese Buddhism, the king's prestige diminished, his temporal power collapsed, and the god-king was thrown down from his altar; and then began the twilight of the gods and kings. 'Nevertheless', as Coedés points out,[18] 'this personal cult had struck such deep root at the court that Sinhalese Buddhism when it became the official religion, had to submit to its occult influence. In the Vat Prāh Kéo of Phnom Penh, better known to Europeans under the name of the Pagoda of silver, we find at the root of the altar a statue of a standing Buddha wrought in gold and enriched with diamonds. For the uninstructed visitor this statue is just an image of the Buddha like many others, only perhaps more costly. But if one knows that this image made by melting the jewels that belonged to king Norodom bears exactly the features of the dead sovereign, one may not be inclined to deny a distant connection with the statues of Kamrateng Jagat that haunt the chapels and the galleries of the old temples of Angkor.'

Such, as we can see it from documents now accessible, was the rise and fall of one of the most interesting cults of ancient Kambuja. The progress of the study of this cult and other subjects connected with it is resulting in a revaluation of the significance of the antiquities of India proper, and there is coming into evidence a significant attempt to trace the complex symbolism even in many of its details to ancient India. We said at the beginning of this paper that ideas and institutions which had their beginnings in India were carried much farther under the impact of new conditions in the colonies; but some recent writers are inclined to trace even these further developments in India itself and to a period much earlier than was so far thought possible. Thus, for instance, Havell had pointed out that the characteristic plan of the Indo-Aryan village, derived from the fortified camps of Aryan invaders, was a rectangle with its sides orientated to the four quarters and intersected by two avenues terminating in four gateways. On this Rowland observes:[19] 'Although space does not permit our entering into a detailed account of the symbolism

18. *Op. cit.* pp. 66-7.
19. *The Art and Architecture of India* (1954) p. 21.

attached to every part of this layout, it can be stated briefly that the plan was intended as a kind of microcosm, with the five divisions of the village corresponding to the five elements of the universe, and each of the gateways dedicated to one of the four Vedic deities typifying the positions of the sun in its course through the heavens.' Again in relation to Vedic pantheon and cosmology he writes:[20] 'The vertical direction or axis was of great importance too; it was sometimes thought of as a pillar of fire formed by the fire-god Agni, who, in his kindling, bears the aroma of sacrifice upwards to the gods. He is never represented in anthropomorphic form until the period of the Hindu dynasties. In certain aspects of later Hindu and Buddhist iconography the axis is conceived as a great mountain pillaring apart heaven and earth, or a Great Person who contains within his magic cosmic body all elements of the universe and supports the firmament above him (Mahāpuruṣa).' One more citation from the same writer on the symbolism of the *stūpa*:[21] 'Like the Mesopotamian Ziggurat, the basic conception of the *stūpa* was an architectural diagram of the cosmos. Above the square or circular base of the *stūpa* rose the solid and hemispherical dome or *aṇḍa*, which was intended as an architectural replica of the dome of heaven, enclosing the world-mountain rising from earth to heaven. In the architecture of the *stūpa* the presence of this world-mountain was suggested only by the *Harmikā*, a balcony-like member at the summit of the mound that typified the Heaven of the thirty-three gods located at the summit of the cosmic peak enclosed within the dome of the sky. The symbolism was completed by the mast or *yaṣṭi* which rose from the crown of the dome. This member typified the world-axis extending from the infra-cosmic waters to the empyrean, and in certain *stūpas* its symbolical function was made even more specific by an actual wooden mast penetrating the solid masonry dome. Above the dome proper this mast served as a support for tiers of circular umbrellas or *chatras* symbolising the *devalokas* or heavens of the gods culminating in the heaven of Brahmā. The *stūpa* was in a sense also a sort of architectural body replacing the mortal frame which Śākyamuni left behind at his Nirvāṇa. The concept of the architecture of the *stūpa* as a cosmic diagram and its animation by the enshrining of relics probably had

20. ibid. p. 25.
21. ibid. p. 46.

its origin in the altar of Vedic times, which was animated at its dedication by the insertion of a human sacrifice, whose soul was regarded as a replica of the spirit of the cosmic Man, Mahāpuruṣa.'[22]

Arguments of this character are bound to be speculative where many links in the chain of evidence are necessarily missing; and it must remain a question how far the present attempts at reinterpreting Indian antiquities is a suggestion from Far-Eastern studies or is inherent in the Indian evidence itself whose exact significance we have missed till these studies brought fresh light. In any case such mutual effects of allied studies on one another should be looked upon as a welcome feature of modern research which may lead ultimately to more solid results based on a settled chronology.

22. See also H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* (1955), pp. 10 & 41.

SOUTH INDIAN JAINISM *

BY

K. R. VENKATARAMA AYYAR

There is the old Jaina tradition that Śruta Kēvali Bhadrabāhu migrated to Śravaṇa Beḷgōḷa in Mysore, along with his disciple Chandragupta Maurya, and it is supported by literary evidences, local history and place names and several inscriptions from the seventh century onward.

The Jains in the South

Scholars generally accept the Śruta Kēvali's migration, but still doubt the story that Chandragupta spent the last years of his life doing penance at Śravana Beḷgōḷa. 'The evidence may not be quite decisive', Narasimhachar observes,[1] 'but it may be accepted as a working hypothesis until the contrary is proved by future research'. Vincent Smith[2] is of the same view, and says: 'In short the Jain tradition (relating to the manner of Chandragupta's death) holds the field, and no alternative account exists'. The migration of the Jains led by Bhadrabāhu is 'the initial fact of the Digambara tradition'.[3]

According to Jacobi[4], Bhadrabāhu died in 297 B.C., but before his death, he sent his disciples under the leadership of Viśākhamuni further south to preach the faith. The spread of the faith in the south after Bhadrabāhu is attested by the presence of Jain vestiges in the natural caverns to which Jain ascetics resorted for their penance. Inside these caverns are 'beds' with 'pillows' cut on the floor, and on their brows are long and deep 'driplines' scooped out to prevent rain water from running into the caverns. In some of the caverns particularly in the districts of Trichinopoly including Pudukottai, Madurai, Ramnad and Tirunelveli, there are also

* A paper read before the Archaeological Society of South India on 30-4-1957.

1. *Q. J. M. S.* XIII, p. 446.
2. *Oxford History of India*, pp. 74-6.
3. *I. A.* XXI, pp. 59-60.
4. *Sacred Books of the East*, XXII, p. xiii.

inscriptions. The characters are Aśōka-Brāhmi, of a type peculiar to South India, which Bühler ascribes to the third-second century B.C. The script resembles that in the Ceylon cave records of the same period and also the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabets. The inscriptions constitute the oldest lithic records in South India; their purport is often not very intelligible, but those that have been deciphered[5] relate to the names of the persons who occupied the 'beds' or those who caused them to be made. Later inscriptions in archaic Tamil or in *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* give more names. Inscriptions afford evidence that the caverns were occupied as late as the twelfth century.

There is an account in the *Periyapurāṇam* of a host of 'Karnāṭaka Jaina' pouring into Madurai like a cloud-burst and uprooting the ruling dynasty; this might have preceded the formation (470) in that city of the Drāviḍa Saṅgha of the Jains by Vajranandi, a pupil of Pūjyapāda. The Saṅgha perhaps became a proselytising centre with branches all over the Tamil country. Among the followers of the new faith were princes of both the Pāṇdva and Pallava ruling houses. In the seventh century, Mahēndra Varman I of Kāñchī (600-630) and Arikēsari Parānkuśa Neḍumāran (670-710) of Madurai were both Jains, before they were converted to the Śaiva faith, the former by Appar and the latter by Sambandar. Under royal support Kañchī with the surrounding villages and Madurai with the surrounding hills teemed with a considerable Jain population, and the present day site of Jīnakāñchī bears sufficient testimony to this. Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar among the Śaiva Nāyanārs, and the Vaishnava Āḻvārs had to tour the land and vanquish in controversy their Jain opponents before they could make them accept their faith. The immediate result was that Pātaliputra, now Tiruppāpuliyūr (Cuddalore), Arpākkam, Māgaral, Madurai and other places were lost by the Jains.

The vitality of Jainism was not exhausted, Śaiva and Vaishṇava opposition notwithstanding. Jaina scholars enriched the Tamil language; they composed elegant poems, wrote books on grammar and prosody, compiled lexicons, and presented lofty ideals of ethics in pithy verses. This gave them quite a strong

5. Vikkiramaṅgalam-Undankkallu cavern (Madurai); Sittannavāśal-Eḻadipāṭṭam cavern (Pudukottai); Pugalūr (Trichinopoly); Trichinopoly cavern underneath the boulder crowned by the Gaṇēśa temple etc. One of the names in the Trichinopoly cavern reads Chira, after which probably the city has been named Trichirapalli.

hold on the minds of the people until after the ninth century, by which time had grown up a vast literature of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism. Both by example and precept monks and nuns in their monastic retreats influenced the lives of the people. Among such monastic centres were Chitrāl or Tiruchāṇāṟṟumalai (South Travancore) and Tirukkāṭṭambaḷḷi in Kurandai-Venbunād (Madurai-Ramnad). Ajjanandi Ashṭōpavāsi, Guṇasena, Nāganandi, Guṇavīra and others of these establishments were teachers of eminence. An inscription in the Aiññūṟṟuva perumbaḷḷi (called after the merchant corporation, the 'Five Hundred') now in ruins at Tiruveṇṇāyil (now called Cheṭṭipaṭṭi in Pudukottai) built during the reign of Rāja Rāja I (985-1016), mentions Matisāgara[6], the guru of Dayāpāla and Vādirāja. Ammāchatram (Pudukottai) had more than one *paḷḷi*, and inscriptions mention two āchāryas of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Choḷavāṇḍipuram (South Arcot), and Tirumalai and Tirakkōl (North Arcot) were other large centres mentioned in the inscriptions. At Tiruppānmalai (North Arcot) is an image of Nāganandi. Arishṭanēmi, a pupil of Paravādimalla, lived in Tiruppānmalai, where one of his pupils, the nun Paṭṭinattukuratti opened a celebrated nunnery. In the large monastery at Vēḍāl (North Arcot) misunderstanding arose among the monks on the one hand and the chief nun and her disciples on the other, and the intrepid nun took upon herself the responsibility of running the feeding house attached to the monastery. Kīrapākkam (Chingleput) was the centre of the Yāpanīya saṅgha, Kumilagaṇa. At Ponnūr (Samskrit: Hēmagrāma or Svarṇapuri) Ēlāchārya[7] popularised the Jvālāmālinī (Vahnidēvatā) cult and built a temple for that goddess. His teachings were later codified by Indranandi in his Jvālāmālinikalpa. The Jīnagiripaḷḷi at Ānandamaṅgalam (Chingleput) was a monastery of considerable importance, and so was Vaḷḷimalai where is enshrined the image of Dēvasēna, a pupil of Bhavanandin. A Munibhadra and Sāmantabhadra, disciple of Pushpasēna, figure in the inscriptions from Karandai (North Arcot). The grammarian Mandalapurusha and the prosadist Amitasāgara also deserve mention. And Jīnakāñchī (Tirupparuttikuṉṟam) boasts of a line of *rishi*

6. Another Matisāgara is mentioned in a Śiṅgipaṭṭi (Tirunelveli) inscription of the 13th century.

7. There were other Ēḷachāryas, one a disciple of Ravinandi, and another of Śridharadēva, all of the Kannada country.

samudāya, among whom the names of Mallisēna, Vāmana and Pushpasēna are still cherished.

From the seventh century onward, the Tamil country was studded with temples to Śiva and Vishṇu. The Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyas and then Chōḻas set the lead by building new temples and richly endowing them. Since Jainism was no longer the faith of the ruling houses, the erection of *paḷḷis* and temples was mostly the work of the Saṅgha drawing what help it could from the state, the local assemblies and the merchant guilds. Tamil kings on their part were neither slow nor parasimonious in their benefactions to their Jaina subjects. The Śittannavāsal Jain cave temple, which was, till lately believed to have been built by Mahēndravarman I, is now known to have definite Pandya associations.[8] The Chandraprabhā temple at Jīnakāñchī was fostered by a Pallava king of the eighth or ninth century. Rājasimha II Pāṇḍya (900-920) endowed several *Paḷḷicchandams*. Kundavai, sister of Rāja Rāja I, a princess remarkable for learning and charity alike built two Jain temples, one at Tirumalai and the other at Rājarājapuram (now called Dādāpuram), and these shared with the numerous Śiva temples that she built, costly presents of vessels and ornaments of gold, silver and pearls. Vīraśōḻa, a Lāṭa vassal of Rāja Rāja I, remitted at the request of his queen taxes payable by the Tiruppānmalaipaḷḷi. A perumbaḷḷi at Karandai was named after Vīrarājēndra Chōḻa (1063-9) and another at Kūhūr (Tanjore) after Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120). Among the donors to the temple at Tirunarungoṇḍai (South Arcot) were Vikrama Chōḻa (1128) and Vikrama Pāṇḍya (1187) and the Kāḍavarāyas of Sēndamaṅgalam, and to those of Śirrāmūr and Perumāṇḍūr (South Arcot) were the Śāmbuvarāya chiefs of the twelfth century. An image at Tuḍiyūrmalai (Śiṅgipaṭṭi,—Tirunelveli) was named after a minister of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (1238 54). Pāṇḍya benefactions to the monasteries at Śadayappārai, near Pudukottai town, and at Nārttamalai are also on record. The incursion of an Oriya force under Kapilēśvara Gajapati (1463) as far south as the Kāvērī left villages robbed and deserted, and temples of all the sects looted and closed. Sāḷuva Narasimha (1486-91) restored worship in all these temples including the Jaina

8. It was largely renovated in the 9th century, by Iḷan Gautaman, an *āchārya* from Madurai.

temples, and exempted their lands from taxes. The *jōdi* imposed by the Vijayanagar agent Rāmappa Nāyak hit temples hard, and Krishṇadēva Rāya gave them relief by converting their lands into *sarvamānya.* Jīnakāñchī temples shared in the lavish endowments that Krishnadēva Rāya (1509-29) made to religious institutions in the south. Achyutarāya's (1530-42) gift to a Jaina temple at the request of Vēlūr Bomma Nāyaka (1532) also deserves notice.

That the grants of lands to Jaina *paḷḷis* were considered as sacred and irrevocable as *dēvadānam* or *brahmadēyam* lands is proved by the careful exclusion of all *paḷḷicchandam* lands in sales or gifts of villages to Śiva or Viṣṇu temple or private individuals. Like Śiva and Vishṇu temples, Jaina temples also held lands in absolute ownership (*tirunāmattukkāṇi*), and also enjoyed lands made over for festivals (*tiruviḷāppuram, śivigaippuram* etc.) and for specified services (*tirupaḷḷi eḻucchi*) etc. The *paḷḷicchandam* lands were demarcated by stones with triple umbrella carved on them (*tirumukkuḍaikkal*).[9]

The establishment of Muslim rule in Madurai spelt the ruin of Jaina temples in common with those of the other sects. There was a partial revival under Vijayanagar rule; but the Nāyak principalities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries neglected Jaina institutions, which succumbed to inanition. Except in a few villages and towns such as Jīnakāñchī, Śiṟṟāmūr, Tirumalai, and Kumbakonam, Jainism has practically disappeared from the Tamil country.

In the Kannada and Telugu Countries

The inscriptions from Śravaṇa Beḷgōḷa contain epitaphs relating to *munis* and lay-devotees who resorted to the sacred hill to perform the rite of *sannyāsana* or *sallēkhana.* Incidentally there also occur *paṭṭāvaḷis* of Pontiffs, many of whom are reported to have possessed 'all the thirty six qualities'.[10] Inscriptions in several other places trace the spiritual lineage of some of the *āchāryas.* A few outstanding names may be noticed here. Kundakunda

9. Occasionally however a monk's pitcher was carved.

10. Twelve kinds of penance (*tapas*), ten kinds of duties (*dharma*), six kinds of regular duties (*āvaśyakas*), five kinds of *āchāras* and three kinds of restraint (*gupti*).

(C. A. D. 1st century) founded the lineage called after him, *Kundakundānvaya.* His famous successor Umāsvāti compiled the *Tattvārtha sūtras.* Sāmantabhadra is said to have visited several places to establish the faith. Simhanandi helped Koṅgaṇivarman (C. 400) to found the Gaṅga kingdom. Vajranandi and Patrakēsari were perhaps his disciples. Śrīvardhadēva, also called Tumbulāchārya, wrote the *Chūḍāmaṇi* of 96,000 verses. Pūjyapāda Akalaṅka, Vimalachandra, Paravādimalla, Matisēna and Hēmasēna were among those who claim to have vanquished Śaivas and Bauddhas. Śripāladēva and Āryavāda are some of those described as *trividyāchāryas* (masters of Logic, Philosophy and Grammar). In the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom Jīnasēna, disciple of Vīrasēna, was the guru of Amōghavarsha (814-80). His *Ādipurāna* was completed by his disciple Guṇabhadra, a contemporary of Krishṇa II (880-915) who wrote the—*Uttarapurāṇa,* and thus completed the *Mahāpurāṇa* begun by Jīnasēna. Ajitasēna was the guru of the Gaṅga Mārasimha (961-75) and his famous minister Chāmuṇḍarāya. Śrīvijaya was a contemporary of Būtuga (938-60) Mārasimha and Rakkasa. About this time (tenth century?) Arhadbali is said to have divided the *mūla saṅgha* of *Sarasvatī gaccha* into four saṅghas—*Nandi, Sēna, Dēva* and *Simha;* each was sub-divided into *gaṇas,* which again was subdivided into *gacchas.* Śānti-dēva was the *guru* of Hoysala Vinayāditya II (1047-98), Prabhāchandra of Śāntaḷā queen of Vishṇuvardhana (1100-52), Subhachandra of the minister Gaṅgarāja, and Abhinava Chārukīrti Paṇḍita of Bhīmadēva, a queen of Dēvaraya I (1406-22) of Vijayanagar. Lalitakīrti is mentioned under different dates; it is believed that several pontiffs of the Hanasoge maṭha assumed this name.

The early Kadambas of Banavāsi, though they did not profess Jainism, fostered the religion; and some of their later descendants were Jainas, e.g., Malāladēvī, queen of Kīrtidēva (11th century) and Śrīdēva (13th century). The rule of the Gaṅgas was the 'golden age' of Jainism. The first ruler was inspired by Simhanandi to establish the kingdom, and Mādhava II (C. 475) and Durvinīta (C. 600-655) fostered its growth. Under Mushkara (C. 655-60) it became the religion of the State, which position it held until the death of Mārasimha II, 'in the presence of the holy feet of Ajitasēna'. The famous general Chāmuṇḍa set up the colossal statue of Gommaṭa in Śravaṇa Beḷgōḷa.

Gōvinda III Rāshṭrakūṭa (792-814) was a patron of Jaina teachers; his son Amōghavarsha was the greatest benefactor of Jainism in the Deccan of that period. Krishṇa II rendered help to his Jaina vassals such as the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, to build *basadis* and make endowments to them and their *āchāryas.* Indra IV died (982) taking the Jaina vow of *samādhi.*

The Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi, who were Śaivites, were indifferent to Jainism; Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I (1042-68), however, honoured Jaina *āchāryas.* The Kālachūrya Bijjala was at first a Jaina, but later on appears to have come under the influence of Bāsava, the founder of the Vīra Śaiva sect.

Reference has been made to the benefactions of the imperial Chōḷas to Jainism, and this might explode the belief held among some scholars that they presented that faith. An additional evidence comes from a record from Chikka Hanasoge (1025) in the Kannaḍa dēsa which mentions a Jīnālaya built by Rājēndra Chōḷa (1012-44). The Kannaḍa feudatories of the Chōḷas—the Koṅgāḷvas and the Chaṅgāḷvas were Jainas.

Hoysala Vinayāditya came to power with the blessings of Śāntidēva. Biṭṭiga Vishṇuvardhana, who was a Jaina, later became a Vaishṇava, but his favourite queen Śāntaḷādēvi continued to profess the Jaina faith. She built a *basti* at Śravaṇa Beḷgōḷa, to which her husband made large endowments. The names of the Hoysala ministers Gaṅgarāja and Mulla are mentioned along with that of Chāmuṇḍarāya as the 'very special promoters of the Jain faith'. Numerous are their grants which were made with the full support of their royal masters, who were Vaishṇavas. The enlightened toleration of Vishṇuvardhana was followed by his successors, and inscriptions amply testify to their liberality towards Jain *bastis* and *āchāryas.* Another pious woman of this period was Āchalādēvi, the wife of the Brahmin minister Chandramouḷi. Under the direction of her *guru* Bālachandra, she set up Jaina images, and on her petition, Vīra Baḷḷāḷa (1173-1220) granted villages for the conduct of their worship. Here is perhaps, a mirror of the social mileu of the period.

There are records in the Veṅgi kingdom relating to Jaina *āchāryas* and gifts to them. Amma II (945-70) showed them considerable favour. But none of the Veṅgi Chāḷukyas, with the

possible exception of Vimalāditya (1011-18), professed that faith.

The early Vijayanagar emperors, whose avowed mission was to restore the Hindu *dharma,* nevertheless protected Jainism. Bukka I (1344-77) brought about a reconciliation between the Jainas and the Vaishṇavas. He allowed the Jainas to build their shrines in Hēmakūta near the temple of Pampāpati. Bhimādēvi, a queen of Dēvarāya I (1406-22) installed images of the Arhats in Śravaṇa Beḷgōḷa. The benefactions of Irugappa, a general of Bukka II (1405-6), were not confined to the Kannaḍa country but extended to Jīnakāñchī. Numerous endowments to Jain institutions speak to the spirit of toleration of Dēvarāya II (1422-46), Krishṇadēva Rāya (1509-29), Achuta Rāya (1530-42) and Rāma Rāya.

Feudatories and vassal chiefs, such as the Sindha chiefs (12th century), the Santara family of Humcha and the Bēlūr chiefs, and later the rulers of Gersoppa and Karkala, not to speak of a host of minor chieftains, were active supporters of Jainism. The faith of the rulers of the Tuḷu coast is commemorated in the magnificent monuments that adorn that country including the statue of Gommaṭa at Karkala. If Jainism is still a live faith in large parts of Mysore, it is due to the protection afforded to it by the Woḍeyar ruling family, from the time of its commencement almost to the present day.

The contribution of the mercantile communities and guilds to the progress and sustenance of religion in South India has been considerable.

Contribution of Merchants

Knowing no bigotry, they served all the sects without difference. Six of the *bastis* of Muḍibidre (South Kanara) were built by merchants and are hence called *Seṭṭārabasti.* The Nakara (Nagara) *basti* in Śravaṇa Beḷgōḷa, built and endowed by merchants, has an inscription dated 1206 referring to a charter of the great corporation of the 'Five Hundred' 'of the line of Kandali and Mūlabhadra', who were the protectors of this Jinālaya. Another inscribed in 1187 registers gifts of villages and shops and assignment of taxes by Vīra Baḷḷāḷa in conjunction with the *Nānādēśis,* and the *nāḍu,* the *nagara* etc. for worship to Pārśvanātha, set up by Achalādēvi. In 1274, a body of merchants en-

dowed money for the daily supply of milk to anoint the feet of Gommaṭa, and the charity was supervised by the guild of goldsmiths. A Kandagale (Bellary) record of 1220 mentions gifts to a *basadi* by *mahānāḍu* comprising the 'Five hundred Svāmis' of *Ayyāvoḷe*, the *prabhus*, the *mummaridaṇḍas* and the thousand *nānādēśis* of Halsige 1200 and Banavāsi 1200. There was an *Aiññūṟṟuva-perumbaḷḷi* (the large monastery built by the 'Five Hundred') at Viśākapaṭnam. Mention has been made above to the Aiññūṟṟuvaperumbaḷḷi at Tiruveṇṇāyil (Pudukottai). Such instances may easily be multiplied.

Committees and Congregations

Temple committees and other organisations composed of members of the priestly order and *samayāchāryas* have formed an integral part of temple administration; these bodies frequently deliberated in joint meetings with the assemblies. The monks of the *paḷḷicchandams* and *basadis* generally managed Jaina temples through a committee. A committee of 'Twenty four' is mentioned in inscriptions from places so far apart as Hullūr in Bījāpūr and Tiruppānmalai in North Arcot. The number twenty four must have been considered auspicious since it represents the number of Tīrthaṅkaras. A record of 1178 mentions a celebration of *pañchakalyāṇa* at the holy place of Gommaṭadēva in Śravaṇa Belgōla by the teachers of all the *gaṇas*, the four *saṅghas*, groups of disciples etc. Similar gatherings of *āchāryas* and *bhavyas* continue to be held even now during the periodical celebration of the *mastakābhishēka* of Gommaṭa in Śravaṇa Belgōḷa.

When faiths flourish side by side, they naturally tend to pick up and to describe in terms of each other's ceremonial forms. The awakening of the deity with music and songs (*tirupaḷḷi-eḻucchi*) the ceremonial bath, decoration with flowers, sandal paste, etc. burning of incense and camphor and waving of lights, food offerings, and singing of hymns, periodical festivals and processions, are some of the features common in the temple rituals of all the sects—Jaina, Vaishṇava and Śaiva. Some of these forms of worship are found mentioned in early Jaina texts also. Inscriptions relate to special grants for all of these. Temples of the Jina, who is the embodiment of *akiñchanata* were endowed with lands in absolute ownership (*tirunāmattukkāṇi*) and vessels of gold and silver and jewels, like those of the gods and goddesses in Śiva and Vishṇu temples. Music and dance were part of daily

worship and of festivals; we hear of a *saṅgītaśāla* at Jīnakāñchī and a *nāṭaka śāla* at Mugad (Belgaum). Understanding and appreciation of music was considered an accomplishment of the monks probably by way of providing for the catharsis of emotions. The Jainas evolved a caste system, and made the Brahmin class an integral part of it; inscriptions have frequent references to Jaina Brahmins, and members of the higher castes adopting the Brahminical *Grihya* rites—*garbhādāna* etc. It is beyond the scope this short resume to attempt an exposition of the metaphysical influences that the Jaina and the 'orthodox' sects exercised upon one another, but the intelligent student of some of the inscriptions containing pithy philosophical and metaphysical disquisitions will not fail to appreciate that a spiritual nexus, a common aspiration for attaining perfection and bliss infinite, by bringing about cessation of *samsāra,* informed their quest, divergent though the means, particularly the disciplines would appear to have been. Fasts, penances, peregrinations to holy places, and preaching tours characterised the life of the monks but with different grades of rigour. No greater tribute could be paid to the service that Jainism has rendered to religion and morality, by emphasising *ahimsa* than that of Appar, the Śaiva saint, who apostatized from the Jaina faith but still proclaimed *dayā mūla dharmam* (dharma is based on *dayā,* or *dayā* is the basic *dharma*).

Force of Disruption Final Revival

There is much force in the contention that the decline of Jainism started with the withdrawal of royal patronage; this is largely true of Jainism in the Tamil country from about the middle of the seventh century, and in the Kannaḍa country from about the twelfth century. Apart from royal favour, Jainism in its heyday, depended upon some inherent factors of organisation that made for strength. The monasteries were their driving force; and a network of them was thrown over the land. To the monasteries were attached feeding houses and schools. The monks adopted the languages of the people (Tamil and Kannada) and developed them; wrote classical works for the scholars, and preached to the masses in a language they could understand. Their stress on fourfold *dāna*—of food, shelter, medicine and knowledge—was of great social benefit, and thereby the rich were made to sacrifice for the poor. They met in controversy leaders of the other faiths and endeavoured to vanquish them. With the revival of Śai-

vism and Vaishṇavism, these two sects opposed the Jains with their own weapons, viz., the whole apparatus of *maṭhas, satras, vidyāsthānas,* rich contribution to literature, mellifluous hymns that melted men's hearts etc. There developed in the Kannaḍa country the *maṭhas* of the two Vaishṇava schools (of Rāmānuja and of Madhva), of the Śaiva schools (of Bāsava's Vīraśaiva and of the Pāśupatas) and of the Advaita school which gained strength under Vidyāraṇya and his successors in the pontifical seats of Śriṅgēri and of the other *maṭhas* that he organised with the support of the Vijayanagar State. Confronted on so many fronts in the Kannaḍa country Jainism went under. This picture of the conflict of the sects will naturally induce the conclusion that Jainism was a victim of persecution. While it cannot be denied that persecution did occur here and there, most of the traditional accounts and stories cannot be taken literally. Epigraphy hardly supports such accounts. Kings, queens, ministers, and generals fostered all the sects; instances of Śaivite kings extending their largesses to the Jainas are numerous, and some of them have been referred to above. Here are a few other epigraphs selected at random: The Jainas complained to the emperor Bukka I against some injustice alleged to have been done to them by the Vaishṇavas. That they should have freely appealed to the Emperor himself is not without its significance. The Emperor heard the representations of both the parties,—the Vaishṇavas were represented by the men of the eighteen *nāḍūs* including *āchāryas* from Śrīraṅgam, Tirumalai, Kāñchī and Mēlkoṭa—and brought about a compact. The concluding observation in the award merits reproduction and indicates the royal guarantee for the safety of a religious minority: 'For as long as the sun and the moon endure, the Vaishṇavas will continue to protect the Jaina darśana. The Vaishṇavas and Jainas are one body, they must not be viewed as different.' Basuvi Seṭṭi, who took a prominent part in this, was given the title of Saṅgha Nāyāka by both the *samayas.* A record from Lakshmēśvar registers a settlement between the Jaina *āchāryas* of the Śaṅkha *basti* and the Śaiva priests of Dakshiṇa Sōmēśvara. When in 1248, a new village of Horehaḷḷi was formed and a *basadi* was built for it, the land required for both was given by all the Brāhmans of Kondali. Hoysala Vīra Baḷḷaḷa formed the *agrahāra* of Baḷḷāḷapuram (Kalhaḷḷi) to secure merit for his queen and the formal gift to the *mahājans* (Brahmins) was made by his Jaina guru Gommaṭadēva. The Vaishṇava Vishṇuvardhana endowed land to a

basti built by his Jain wife Śāntaḷa, and Vīra Baḷḷāḷa to Jain deities installed by Āchalā, the Jain wife of his Brahmin minister Chandramouli. A record from Tumkur (1155) begins with the prayer 'Obeisance to the universal spirit Jina, who is Śiva, Dhātr (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha) and Vishṇu'. These and similar inscriptions furnish the proper answer to those who would see 'storms of persecution' that laid Jainism low. On the contrary when the foreigner iconoclast stalked the land, Jainism could not be singled out from Hinduism 'which opened its capacious bosom to receive it, and to the conquerors it seemed an indistinguishable part of that great system'.[11]

Jainism flourished in the Kannaḍa and Telugu countries for some centuries after its set back in the far south; naturally, therefore, Jain monuments are better preserved in the Kannaḍa area. It is sad to contemplate that the Jain monuments of the Tamil land evolving in style from the caverns to monolithic and lithic temples are most of them heaps of ruin. For this both time and men that matter in society must have been responsible. Even the memory of this great faith is lost in many Tamil districts; otherwise would the rustic folk declare in their innocence that the caverns with their 'beds' are the handiwork of the Pāndavas? The hills containing the caverns are now called *pañchapāṇḍavar malai*! The Sāsana dēvatas to them are so many forms of Śiva and Vishṇu and their attendants. In a village in the Coimbatore district, a Tīrthaṅkara and his two attendants are now worshipped as Trimūrti, and the hill where they are enshrined is the Tirumūrti hill! Brahma Yaksha is now Śāsta or Ayyanār (Paramar in some Tamil districts). In the Nagercoil Jaina temple, now a Vishnu temple, the idol of Pārśvanātha is described as Anantālvār (Ādiśesha)! Mutilated Jain statues are installed as village godling. The Muslims converted *bastis* into mosques and utilised the caverns as tombs. Some of the stones of ruined *pallis* were used to put up new mantapams in Śiva and Vishṇu temples, this explains the presence of Jaina inscriptions on the walls and pillars of Śiva and Vishṇu temples.

To appreciate the extent of Jaina influence in the different parts of the land, it is necessary that typical sites are selected and

11. Stevenson: *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 19.

all the vestiges found in them, — architectural remains, sculptures, local tradition and epigraphs studied[12].

Fortunately, some centres in the south, such as Kāñchī, Śiṟṟāmūr and Tirumalai, and numerous centres in Western Mysore and the Tuḷu districts — Śravaṇa Beḷgōḷa, Maliyūr, Humcha, Muḍbidri, Karkala and Vēnūr still preserve monuments of outstanding merit and a population of Jainas that recall the high ethical purposes that the Tīrthaṅkaras and great Āchāryas propagated for the benefit of humanity.

12. A paper on the Forgotten Monastery of Tiruppaḷḷimalai or Tirumānamalai (Nārttāmalai). (Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Delhi 1948—pp. 139-41) by the present writer is a brief record of a survey on these lines.

NEW LIGHT ON INDUS VALLEY CULTURE

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I

Sculpture

The most monumental products of the Indus Civilization are stone sculptures and seals. Thirteen pieces of statuary, including two well-known and much discussed stone statuettes from Harappa, have so far come to light. Three of them represent animals. Five represent a stereotyped squatting God. The two statuettes from Harappa have revolutionized existing notions about ancient Indian art. Both the statuettes, of less than 4″ in height, are male *torsos* exhibiting a sensitiveness and a modelling that was both firm and resilient. In one of the statuettes under discussion (fig. 1) the body is represented as a volume modelled by an unrestrained life-force pressing from within, activating every particle of the surface. It is in the throes of a subtle and rumbling movement emanating from the core of the body. The figure which appears to be modelled from within, is actually at rest, yet brims with movement. The figure is so full of strength that it appears to grow in stature as well, but actually it is tiny, being 3¼″ high only. The massive *torso* unfolds life that has mysteriously crept into the forms, keeping it all alert though seemingly at rest like the gyration of a top. As such it is a sculpture of "modelled mass". This physical type continues through the ages as the veritable standard in Indian Art for divinities in whom the force of creative activity held under control (*jitendriya*) is to be shown, as for example, in the Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras or deities deep in penance or meditation.

The other statuette, also from Harappa, represents the nimble figure of a dancer (fig. 6) whose gliding curves and emphasized planes are inter-twined as it were in space in the endless function of following the movement of the dance. The volume of the figure is not only evenly distributed round its axis but also well balanced in the intersection of the planes all within the very space

created by its body movements. The body's external movements are so well expressed that they govern the unit of space and volume in which the *torso* exists. In other words, it is a sculpture of lines and planes curved into space. Both statuettes are dated about 2400-2000 B.C. It appears to be ithyphallic, lending force to the suggestion that it may represent a prototype of the latter day Naṭarāja, the dancing form of Śiva. All art-critics have declared that for pure simplicity and feeling nothing to compare with these two master-pieces was produced until the great age of Hellas.

The stone statuette in the element of "frontality" also establishes a fundamental truth about ancient Indian Art, namely, that Indian art is as firmly rooted in nature as it is well established in its social environment and its supramundane origin. It at once represents a divinity with all the virtues of strength and creative activity held under control, not to be thrown out but to be utilized for introspective peace (*śānti*). This indeed is what we see associated with the Jaina Gods and Tīrthaṅkaras whose colossal images such as at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa, Kārkal and Yenūr in Mysore arrest public attention. With senses controlled by physical effort, with strength and creative activity restrained metaphysically by the silken thread of *Ahiṁsā* and with the physical features (limbs) completely abandoned to the rigours of clime and weather, in the pristine and natal state of absolute nudity the colossal statues of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and Jaina ascetics such as of Bāhu Bali at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa in Mysore have a lesson to humanity that penance > non-violence is the only panacea for human suffering (*Ahiṁsā-paramo-dharmaḥ*). The Harappan statuette being exactly in the above specified pose, we may not be wrong in identifying the God represented as a Tīrthaṅkara or a Jaina ascetic of accredited fame and penance (*jina, tāpasa*). Though its date—2400-2000 B.C. has been disputed by some archaeologists, there is nothing in its style to differentiate it from that of certain terracotta figurines and representations on some of the engraved seals from Mohenjo-Daro. In this connection Sir Mortimer Wheeler's views on this statuette as published in his *Indus Valley Civilization* (Cambridge History of India, 1953, page 66) are worth quoting:

"These two statuettes, just under 4″ in height as preserved, are male *torsos* exhibiting a sensitiveness and vivacity of modelling entirely foreign to the works considered above. So outstanding are their qualities that some doubt must for the present remain

as to the validity of their ascription to the Indus period. Unfortunately the technical methods employed by their finders were not such as to provide satisfactory stratigraphical evidence; and the statements that one, the dancer, was found on the granary site at Harappa and that the other was 4′ 10″ below the surface in the same general area do not in themselves preclude the possibility of intrusion. *Attribution to a later period is also not free from difficulty,* and doubt can only be resolved by further and more adequately documented discoveries of a comparable kind".

From the concluding remarks of Sir Mortimer Wheeler it is, however, clear that the attribution of a later period to the statuette is as much difficult as a negation to it of the earlier date of third millennium B.C. The chances are thus equal.

Let us now determine the subjective and objective worth of the statuette in the element of "frontality", with shoulders well-backed and physical features clear-cut, delineating that life is moving within the modelled mass in a well regulated and controlled plastic order. The genital pose rhymes with the spirit of control bringing out the force of the conception of a Jina (conqueror of the senses). In contrast to this, one may study the engraved seal from Mohenjo-Daro* of the third millennium B.C., representing Rudra > Paśupati > Mahādeva seated in meditation in the midst of mortals, such as men, and animals such as rhinoceros, buffalo, tiger, elephant, antelopes, birds and fish and exhibiting the *penis-erectum* (*Ūrdhva-Retas*) pose standing for the upward force of creative activity (fig. 5). The iconography of the God noticed in the Mohenjo-Daro seal is fully explained by the following Ṛiks from the Ṛig Veda:—

> Brahmā devānām padavīḥ kavīnām ṛṣir viprāṇām mahiṣo mrigāṇām | śyeno gṛidhrāṇām svadhitirvanānām somaḥ pavitram atyeti rebhan.
>
> IX-96-6.

"Brahma among gods (devas), leader of the poets, Ṛishi of sages, buffalo among animals, hawk among birds, axe among weapons, over the sieve goes Soma thus singing or roaring".

> Tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti Mahodevo martyānāviveśa |
>
> IV-58-3.

*Cambridge History of India, 1953, Pl. xxiii.

"The thrice-bent bull goes on roaring (thus)—The Great God has completely entered the mortals".

Rudraḥ paśūnām adhipatiḥ sa māvatu.

Y.V. III-4-5.

"Rudra is the lord of creatures. May he protect me".

In the light of the above interpretation of the Mohenjo-Daro seal from Ṛig Veda it should be easy to identify the statuette under description by a reference to the Ṛig Veda. We find that the Ṛig Veda refers to naked Gods as *Śiśna Devas* in two hymns which invoke Indra for protection of Vedic sacrifices from the naked Gods (*Śiśna-Devas*):

na yātava Indra jūjuvurno navamdanā śavishṭha vedyābhiḥ |
sa śardha daryo viṣuṇasya jamtormā śiśnadevā api gu ṛtam
naḥ ||

VII-21-25.

"O Indra! no evil spirits have impelled us nor fiends. O Mighty God! with their devices. Let our true God subdue the hostile rabble. Let not the naked Gods (*Śiśna Devas*) approach our holy *yajña* or worship".

sa vājam yātā paduṣpadā yan tsva ṛṣātā pariṣadat saniṣyan |
anarvā yacchhata durasya vedo ghñachiśnadevān abhivarpasā
bhūt ||

X-99-3.

"On most auspicious path he (Indra) goes to battle. He toiled to win heaven's light, full fain to gain it. He seized the hundred-gated castle's treasure by craft, unchecked, slaying (in the affair) naked Gods (*Śiśna-devas*)".

These two Ṛiks flash before us the truth that we are perhaps recognizing in the Harappa statuette a fullfledged Jaina Tīrthankara in the characteristic pose of physical abandon (*kāyot-sarga*), a pose which has been immortalised in the later day colossal statues of Jaina Tirthaṅkaras and Siddhas such as at Śravaṇabelagoḷa, Kārkal, Yenūr, etc. One may wonder if a later day Jaina iconographic plastic pose such as *kāyot-sarga* could have appeared as early as the Harappan or Mohenjo-Daro times (third millennium B.C.). Surely, the conceptions of absolute nudity and inner abandon of all physical consciousness for the realisation of the

Jaina fundamental doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* can lead only to one pose. It is this pose that we find at Harappa in the statuette under description (fig. 1). There is thus a continuity and unity in this ideology and there are no other iconographic details in the *statuette* to confuse or lead us astray. Also the nude pose is in strict contrast to the Vedic description of the God Mahādeva > Rudra > Paśupati as *Ūrdhva-Meḍhra,* the pose in which we find him depicted on the steatite seal of Mohenjo-Daro (*Cambridge History of India,* 1953, plate XXIII).

The chronology and heirarchy of the series of 24 Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras do not stand in the way of the date of the Harappa statuette. The present list of Tīrthaṅkaras (*Vartamāna-Tīrthaṅkaras*) includes 24, of whom we know that Mahāvīra was a contemporary of Buddha who flourished in the 6th century B.C. *Pārśvanātha,* the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara, flourished more than 100 years before Mahāvīra and Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, was a cousin of Lord Krishna, the friend of the Pāṇḍavas of *Mahābhārata* fame. Even on a rough computation we get a date like the 9th century B.C. for Neminātha, the contemporary of Krishna, the Lord of the *Bhagavad-Gītā.* Recent excavations at Hastināpura near Meerut, the cradle of the activities of the Pāṇḍavas, has given a date as 1100-800 B.C. of occupation. We have yet to account for 21 Tīrthaṅkaras that preceded Neminātha in a heirarchical order. If we push back the dates proportionately to each Tīrthaṅkara, we are led to find that the first Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha also called Vṛishabha Dēva stands on the threshold of the last quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. The statuette under description has been assigned by critics a date between 2400-2000 B.C.

That Ādinātha *alias* Vṛishabha Dēva founded a new order of faith in a sheer spirit of protest against Vedic sacrifices and injury to animals is the first fundamental event that took place in the career of Jainism. Subsequent events and followers of Ādinātha —the Tīrthaṅkaras and Siddhas—put his faith on a firm wheel—the wheel of *Ahiṁsā*—and set it moving which, as it moved into time and space, gained strength like electric coils and surcharged the atmosphere with the reverberation "*Ahimsā paramo-dharmaḥ*". The statuette under description (fig. 1) is therefore a splendid representative specimen of this thought of Jainism at perhaps its very inception.

II

Indus Art

Indian Art has been described as opening a simple yet delightful way into the timeless domain of the Indian spirit. Indian Art has an individuality of its own, one of rare aesthetic sense, combining skill, beauty and craftsmanship with durability and utility. The creations of Indian Art are not only noted for quantity but also for their quality. Indian Art-products are the results of man's urge to express himself or his divine self. Indian Art has a hoary past. The Indus Valley Civilization of the third millennium B.C. which is in fact the oldest civilization of India so far known by excavations, reveals a well-designed and highly artistic culture already at an advanced stage of development, when stone and copper were used side by side. That the artists of the Indus Valley had fully grasped the essential elements of form and decoration is apparent in the patterns of painted pottery based on geometrical and animal forms and also in the statuary figures of steatite, faience and clay. At Mohenjo-Daro the earliest known Indian bronze statuette was discovered, which represents a remarkable figure of a dancing girl (fig. 2). That dance was a mode of expression of joy, had been a noteworthy feature of Indian Art through the Ages and this gets crystallized later on in the conception of Śiva as Naṭarāja. The most outstanding example of Indian bronzes is that of Naṭarāja illustrating the process of the creation and dissolution of the world in terms of dance and rhythm. The Naṭarāja image is one of the greatest pieces of Indian Art, the perfect visual image of *Becoming,* and an adequate complement and contrast to the cross-legged Mahayogi Rudra > Paśupati type of *Being.* The movement of the dancing figure is so balanced that while it fills all space it seems nevertheless to be at rest. Kālidāsa, the immortal poet, who gave us the standards of life mentions that dance was to the Devas an ocular sacrifice, to the Great God Rudra it meant the division of his body into two and the location of Goddess Umā in one half, and to the world of variety and diversity, it was the sole source of eternal delight. The Mohenjo-Daro dancing girl (fig. 2) is secular in all respects but the bronze images of the later periods of history are mostly inspired by religion. Both sculpture and bronze were developed as characteristic art-forms at the very outset or dawn of Indian history.

The creations of Indian Art, such as images, sculptures, seals and sealings as at Mohenjo-Daro, are only the external manifestations of internal experiences. Such being the case, as in language and speech so also in art, certain modes of expression or record were depicted. The most important among these methods are three which have been continuing through the ages—(1) the Symbolic Method, (2) the Synoptic Method and (3) the Narrative. At the dawn of Indian Civilization as reflected in the Proto-Historic Art of Indus Valley, we find that not only the *Symbolic* but also the *Synoptic* methods were so very popular that both are employed in plastic art and pictograph and script.

Seals

In Indus culture animals get the limelight. The seals and sealings from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa represent amidst picographs animals special to India, such as the humped bull with its profound dewlap, the majestic elephant, the buffalo, the tiger, the rhinoceros and the antelope. The Vedic literature, whatever be its date, is still the earliest known literature of India. The idea that the bull does all the roaring to proclaim *Dharma Vijaya* is caught up by the Mohenjo-Daro seals and sealings representing the bull with its characteristic dewlap and hump. That such a bull with its powerful physique bellows for all time to come the advent of a Great God (*Maho-Devaḥ*) is the sprit of a few sealings from the Indus Valley of the third millennium B.C. where the bull is shown with three heads, one of the heads looking back, the second head which is centrally placed looking down and the third head looking ahead or stretched forward. The head looking behind indicates in synoptic language that the bull had roared and thus relates to the past. The head looking down means that it is roaring and this indicates the present. The third head stretched forward or looking ahead means the bull will roar and this indicates the future. Thus the past, present and future stages of time are suggested by this three-headed bull. That this bull does not look up brings out the idea that it is concerned with the mortal world. This seal combined with another seal (fig. 5) wherein the anthropomorphic figure of a God supposed to be Rudra as Mahāyogī seated amidst animals such as buffalo, elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, antelopes and among men and birds and fish brings out forcibly the ideas contained in the Ṛigvedic hymns :

Tridhā badho vṛsabho roravīti
Mahodevo martyān āviveśa || IV-58-3.

"The thrice-bent bull goes on roaring that the Great God (he is no longer in some invisible heavens but) has (actually) completely entered the mortals."

Such is the purpose in posing the God in the centre of the seal amidst the rhinoceros, the elephant, the buffalo, the bull, the tiger, antelopes, men, birds and fish and characterising it or labelling it on the top by a pictographic series. The seated God in this is cross-legged. He is *Ūrdhvaretas* in the state of *penis-erectum* which stands for virility and potentiality. There are stripes all over his body as we find to-day in the case of worshippers of Śiva or the orientation of *Śyena-chiti* altar. The God has more than three faces, perhaps four were meant, as we can clearly make out, and over these heads is set up a pair of buffalo's horns. Another Ṛik from the Ṛigveda throws further light on the iconography of the God of this seal:

> Brahmā devānām padavīḥ kavīnām ṛṣirviprāṇām mahiṣo mṛigāṇām |
> Śyeno gṛidhrāṇām svadhitir vanānām somaḥ pavitramatyeti-rebhan || IX-96-6.

'Brahmā among Gods, a leader of poets, a Ṛishi among sages, a buffalo among animals, a hawk among vultures, axe among weapons, over the sieve goes Soma with a roar".

This very composite God-head is echoed later on or adapted in the Epic times when Lord Krishna announces his cosmic form by the combination of the best among all things but the subjects so seleced are different to suit the then extant world and here, the lion replaces the Vedic buffalo, Vajra replaces the axe-head, Indra replaces the four-headed Brahmā and Vainateya (Garuḍa) replaces the hawk. This is best illustrated in the following chart: —

Ṛig Veda IX-96-6	*Gītā, 10th adhyāya*
Brahmā devānām	Devānāmasmi vāsavaḥ
padavīḥ kavīnām	kavīnām uśanā kaviḥ
ṛṣir viprāṇām	{ Maharṣīṇām aham Bhṛguḥ Devarṣiṇām ca Nāradaḥ Munīnām apyaham Vyāsaḥ }
Mahiṣomṛgāṇām	Mṛgāṇām ca mṛgendro aham
śyeno gṛdhrāṇām	Vainateyaśca pakshiṇām
svadhitirvanānām	āyudhānāmaham vajram

The fact that roaring or bellowing eternal truth for eternity was a function assigned to the bull (*Vṛiṣabha*) in Indian art, is carried through the ages and immortalized by depicting it in Mohenjo-Daro seals, and in the third century B.C. at Rāmpūrva on one of the Asokan pillars and again depicting it on *Jayastambhas* of the historic period and crystallising it in the conception of a never-failing announcer or attendant of the God Rudra or Paśupati by making the bull the permanent *vāhana* of no less a God than Śiva, who is also Rudra and Paśupati. Even to-day when a temple God is taken out in procession in South India, a stud-bull issues out in front with a pair of drums on its back announcing as it were by beat of drum the advent of the great God. As we walk through the ages, the bull emerges as an inevitable associate of the God Rudra. The God on Mohenjo-Daro seals has been described by the Vedas as *Rudraḥ paśūnām adhipatiḥ*. The same has also been described in other hymns of the Ṛigveda as *Brahmā* by virtue of his possessing more faces and as *Mahisha* by virtue of his possessing buffalo's horns. When we come to later times, the God has been deprived of his horns but the bull which announced his glory has been made a never-failing associate. A visit to all Śaivite shrines in India will prove this. The *penis erectum* stage of Rudra > Paśupati God of Mohenjo-Daro continued through the ages and took shape as the regular *liṅga* standing for Śiva or the anthropomorphic form of Śiva superposed on the background of a *liṅga* such as we get in the *liṅga* of Gudimallam, Chittoor District, of the second century B.C.

The rhinoceros is yet another interesting animal of the Indus Valley Culture in association with this Paśupati cult. We must remember that the rhinoceros is special to India. In the same way are the elephant, the tiger and the humped bull noticed on the seals. The rhinoceros is obviously the Vedic *Varāha* or the *Yajña-Varāha,* who is described as the arch-router. The Vedas say in regard to Mother earth that she was routed or pulled up by the Varāha :

> uddhritāsi varāheṇa kṛṣṇena śatabāhunā | Bhūmirdhenurdharaṇī lokadhāriṇī.
>
> —Y. V. (Tait. Ar.) II-10-1.

Śatabāhu means 100 man-power which can easily be attributed to the rhinoceros. The massive strength of the rhinoceros which lies in its snout and the conception of *Yajña-Varāha* as *Ekaśṛiṅgī*

suggests that it was the rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*—the rhino with a single horn on the tip of its snout) that was contemplated and not the wild boar or pig as later iconography has described and depicted, for the latter has only two side tusks from the gape of its jaws. The occurrence of the tiger on the Paśupati Seal is significant in that it is also an Indian animal not known to Sumer, Elam, Mesopotamia and other West Asian contemporary cultures. Expert zoological opinion on the remnants of the tiger makes the tiger on the Indus seals the sabre-toothed type, now extinct. The elephant also occurs on the Mohenjo-Daro seals and it is a very popular animal in Indian Art through the ages. The Vedic hymns describe the elephant as an *Ibha* standing to announce the glory of the King:

> kṛiṇushva pājah prasitim na pṛithvīm yāhi rājevāmavān ibhena.
>
> *Yajur Veda, K.T.S., I*-2-14.

In the third century B.C. we find that Emperor Aśoka makes use of the elephant by carving its figures both at Kalsi and at Dhauli, in the former as defiant and in the latter as submissive to rhyme with the respective spirits of the places. At Dhauli the submissive mood of the elephant is because the king is lamenting the folly of his military expedition to Kalinga which resulted in bloodshed. At Kalsi the elephant is defiant with legs slightly raised and trunk twisted because the spirit is one of putting down animal sacrifices for which the area was celebrated, as ancient *Mashṇār* of the *Aittareya Brāhmaṇa.*

III

Other Antiquities

Other interesting finds relating to Indus Valley Culture that have a bearing on Hindu ritual and iconography are the statuette of *Yajamāna* or the performer of sacrifices like *Aśvamedha,* toy carts and perforated pottery jars. The *Yajamāna* figure which obviously related to a royal performer of horse sacrifices[1] shows the king as shaven in the upper lip, wearing new cloth *Yajñopa-*

1. mahate kshatrāya mahata ādhipatyāya mahate janarājyāyaishavo Bharatā rājā somoasmākam Brāhmaṇānām rājā pratityannāma rājyam adhāyi.

Yajur Veda, T. S. I—8-10.

vīta-wise, decorated with circular gold discs (*rukma*), one on the head, another on the right hand and a third on the neck as prescribed in the ritual of Vedic sacrifices. The toy-cart discovered at Mohenjo-Daro is neither big enough to be a regular cart nor small enough to be a toy-cart. It is of medium size such as would be utilized for carrying *Soma* plants into the Yajñaśāla during the course of sacrifices.

It appears that the biomorphs, natural and fanciful, of the Ṛig-Vedic poets,—wherein we have to include representations combining human and bestial forms — are replicas of the zoomorphs of the Indus Valley seal engravers, modellers and sculptors. Indus Valley seal designs and figurines appear to be embodiments of the fancies of the Ṛig-Vedic poets. The minds of the Ṛig-Vedic people and the Indus Valley people appear to have thought out on the same lines, as much in accepting animals, birds and human beings as they are in realistic study in integrating them into āveśas or "chimeras". A pertinent example is the *Maho-deva* seal from Mohenjo-Daro described above (fig. 5). The Ṛig-Vedic poet and the Indus Valley *artist* have fancied and fashioned alike. Comparison with the ancient West Asian treatments of biomorphs not only emphasises that the differences between the West Asian (Egyptian and Mesopotamian) conceptions and the Indus Valley and the Ṛig-Vedic are fundamental but also establishes that the similarity of the Indus Valley and Ṛig-Vedic conceptions is close and consequently certain.

IV

Significant Seals

Recent discoveries and field work at Lothal (near Ahmedabad), an Indus Valley culture site in the Gulf of Cambay, have provided a fresh context for the re-assessment of the significance of the above data, not only by the dissemination in a mature state of the Indus Valley culture in a zone outside the geographical boundaries signified by its current appellation, but also by the many more inscribed seals, sealings and distinctive structural vestiges found here which bring the necessary element of piquancy or provocation for new lines of argumentation and research. The veil of puzzling uncertainty regarding both the script and the scenes of the seals has now been lifted at least along the corners, and it would seem possible now to discover a remarkable correspondence that the scenes on the seals depict with many events and

scenes described in the various Ṛig-Vedic hymns themselves. We may give here some account of the seals which are the outstanding contributions of the Indus civilization to ancient craftsmanship. The fact that over 2000 of them have been found in Indus Valley indicates their ancient popularity and, although there is considerable variation in the quality of their cutting, their average attainment is exceedingly high for what must have been an almost mass-produced commodity. They are veritable little masterpieces of controlled realism. The normal seal was of steatite and square in shape with side from ¾″ to 1¼″ in length, and with a perforated boss at the back for handling and suspension. Occasionally the boss is absent; sometimes the seal is round, with or without a boss. There are only a few cylindrical seals. In manufacture, the stone was cut with a saw and finished with a knife and an abrasive, the carving being done with a small chisel and a drill. Finally the whole stone was coated with an alkali and heated, so as to produce a white lustrous surface, which has sometimes been mistaken for a steatite slip. The individuality of not merely the shapes and contents of the Indus seals but also that of its terracottas, sculptures and other structural remains as against the contemporary civilizations like that of Sumer in West Asia would negative the need for looking beyond the frontiers of this country for the explanation of the constituent elements of the Indus culture, although trade and other contacts had always been existing during this period between Indus Valley and Sumer.

The letters of the Indus seals would now seem to be variously pictographic, scriptographic and scriptual in nature, and the very element of dynamic evolution which characterises it would perhaps enable us to seek it out, by further developments as the parent to the Indian *Brāhmī* script. By the obvious clue of its direct bearing often upon the scene portrayed on the seals and by the basically ritualistic nature of the scenes themselves which receive facile substantiation in the episodes narrated in the Ṛig Vedic hymns, the seals provide the potential link between the chronological context of the culture of which they are the material remains and the ritualistic and philosophical ideas of the Ṛig Vedic literature that had provided the subject matter for their portrayal. The scenes of the seals, have themselves the germs of the evolution of art and iconography, in the adequate portrayal in miniature of the needs of the legends. Anthropomorphic forms for gods like Agni, the chief agent of the performers of Vedic

ritual, would seem to have demonstrable stages of iconographic development and architectural orientation.

Sacrifice of Medhyātithi Seal

In fact, more than 10 seals (fig. 3) contain in pictographic and scriptographic language, the story of Medhyātithi as related in Ṛig Veda (I-51-1; I-162-5; VIII-2-40-41). The description of Agni as surrounded by the seven *Hotārah* or other sacrificial members in a ritual as given in the hymns is virtually depicted to a detail on these seals. The symbolism and imagery involved in this process and the actual representation of the shapes of fires or fire-altars as circular (*Gārhapatya*) and square (*Āhavanīya*) have been even culminating in a partly symbolic and partly syllabic form as in the case of a *svastika-bandha-cakra-homa* in some of the seals. The offer of Soma to Somarāja or Rudra after installing him on a pedestal pictured on some seals[2] would lead us to hold that both in spirit and content, both in quality and quantity, these seals show practices very familiar and intimate to the Ṛig Vedic Aryan. The story of Medhyātithi runs as follows:

Medhyātithi with his followers performed a sacrifice helped by the seven priests (Hotā, Adhvaryu, Āvayā, Agnimindhu, Grāvagrābha, Śamstā and Brahmā). He had a fat ram ready on the occasion for immolation. After lighting fire by seven pipal twigs[3] on a Gārhapatya fire-altar and offering Agni profuse libations of ghee, he knelt before the Agnipurṣa (the anthropomorphic form of Agni) requesting him to go as his agent to Indra and invite him to his sacrifice intimating Indra that Medhyātithi was ready for Indra's reception with a fat ram and enough *Soma*. Even before Agnipurṣa could carry the message, Indra appeared on the scene and entering the form of the ram created fun. Medhyātithi was bewildered on seeing the ram moving about; everyone felt that the ram would spoil the sacrifice. Indra enabled Medhyātithi to get over the confusion by announcing his own presence in the body of the ram, whereupon all ended well. Medhyātithi became happy and the Ṛig Veda describes this story under the famous chant:

> ītthā dhivanta madrivaḥ kāṇvam medhyātithim | mesho bhūto-abhiyannayaḥ |

2. *Yajur Veda, K.T.S.* I-8-10.

3. Saptate agne samidhaḥ saptajihvāḥ saptarshayaḥ saptadhāma priyāni | saptahotrāḥ saptadhātvā yajanti sapta yonīrāpriṇasvā ghṛitena svāhā-I—5-3.

"Once, O Indra, stone-hurler! thou camest as a ram to Medhyātithi, son of Kaṇva". VIII-2-40.

The seal (fig. 3) actually shows Medhyātithi kneeling, before fire, pouring libation of ghee on a circular fire from which springs up Agni in anthropomorphic form, the ram of Medhyātithi standing behind him, the *Āhavanīya* fire altar, square in shape, being shown by the side of the circular *Gārhapatya* fire and the seven *hotāraḥ* standing in a row in the foreground giving a recitation as described in Ṛig Veda I-162-2-5. A few seals actually show Indra standing behind the ram, while some others show the square Āhavanīya fire with a *Svastika* mark in it. Some other seals show more details from the story and represent collection of *Soma* by the priests and the offer of *Soma* by two such priests to the Somarāja or to the God invoked on the occasion who may be Rudra or Indra. Some of the seals show that the Soma collected in the vessels was zealously guarded by serpents, for the Soma is said to be an attraction to snakes (*Dvijapriya*).

Pipal Tree of Life Seal

The seemingly comprehensive rendering of the ideas propounded in the 'Asya Vāmasya' hymn (I-164-20 to 22) on the 'Pipal tree of life' seal (fig. 4) would deserve detailed quotation here:

dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā samānam vṛkṣam pariṣasvajāte
tayoranyaḥ pippalam svādvattyanasnannanyo abhichākaśīti |
yatrā suparṇā amṛitasya bhāgamanimeṣam vidathābhisvaranti
inoviśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ samādhīraḥ pākamatrāviveśa |
yasmin vṛikṣe madhvadaḥ suparṇā niviśante suvate cādhiviśve
tasyedāhuḥ pippalam svādvagre tannonnaśadyaḥ pitaram na veda | |

"Two. smooth gliding creatures of symmetrical poise and harmonious disposition resort to a common (pipal) tree. As a berry in front of each ripens, one tastes it, while the other, without eating (its berry) looks on. Where (in the Pipal tree) the gliders ceaselessly sing forth about their share of immortality, there, the lord of all, the wise, entered me, the unripe. Upon which (pipal) tree the honey-drinking gliders rest and multiply their species, on

the top of this, it is said, is the sweetest Pipal berry. One will not reach it, if one does not know the father".

In the light of this hymn, it would be easy to recognize in this seal (fig. 4) two spirits (one vital and the other supreme) dwelling in one substratum, and to agree with Sāyana's commentary on this hymn that the vital spirit enjoys the fruit of *Karma* while the supreme spirit is merely a passive spectator.

It would indeed be impossible to enter here a cavet in detail regarding the original home or zone of the Aryaṇs, but sufficient significance attaches to the Indus Valley seals, their scenes and the script that may well project the activities of the ritual-minded, Ṛig Vedic Aryan on to the contemporary Indian scene of the 3rd millennium before Christ. The enormous bulk of the seals unearthed from the sites Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, combined with the excellence of craftsmanship in their mass production would tend to bespeak the wide circulation that they were expected to undergo (in the complete absence of any coins) presumably as accepted currency tokens of value-*dakṣiṇā*.

Let us now see how Ṛig Vedic religion is going to affect the above-mentioned hypotheses. It is obvious that the extant text of the Ṛig Veda is only a small part of the immense literature that would have accumulated in the course of the many centuries of Vedic times. The best guarantee for what indeed had stood preserved lay in the fact that these concerned mainly with the ritual element which permeated the religious and social customs. Thus poems of intellectual nature, e.g., "asyavāmasya palitasya" hymn regarding creation, had been less meticulously preserved than the hymnal prayers bearing upon the rituals. Again, the hymns and the rituals being practised as a continuous tradition down the years, without any defection or transformation have also clouded our judgment in the bestowal of a great antiquity to their origin. The theory that Aryans came to India in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. as an invading, but paradoxically, pastoral people, given to the discipline of the rituals and rational philosophy, would have more difficulties besetting it than a logical assumption, from the maturity of the Vedic literary ouput, rigid patterns of its rituals and the comprehensive elements of its religion, of the Aryans having lived in the land over a long period evolving these. Data supporting a negation of the latter have not been forwarded to date. Despite the occasional exchange of seals

and knick-knacks of trade between the Indus Valley and Sumer, the notable absence of intellectual borrowing or companionship between the material cultures of the two regions, and contrariwise, individualities and basic variations in approach dominate, whether it is the sculptural art of the Indus, (figs. 1, 2, 6), their bronze figures such as the dancing girl, (fig. 2) or the world of Indus terracottas including 'Mother Goddess' representations (fig. 7) or their square and rectangular seals and their depictions and script (figs. 3-5), or even the edifices about which more will be said in the next para. It has no parallel worthy of mention with Sumer.

V

Architecture

Having thus dealt with the exclusive traits and vitality of the component elements of the Indus culture, we have to see if the existence of any temples and such like edifices have been extant here. Here again, the answer is supportive. A structure which is clearly that of a shrine had been unearthed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in Mohenjo-Daro. It is indeed worthwhile quoting his significant and precise description of it. It is massively built but of relatively small size; it is approached in monumental fashion by two symmetrical stairways, a provision quite out of scale with any domestic or industrial purpose; the stairways are themselves reached through an impressive double entrance at the lower level, and within the entrance is a small circular enclosure apparently designed for the protection of a tree or other object—possibly even of a statue whereof the head was found only a few feet away; and finally, amongst the rare sculptures of Mohenjo-Daro, a second was broken in the same vicinity, and its major part was found actually on the site of the present building. The combination of circumstances, though not determinative, inclines towards the identification of the structure as a *temple,* and it can at least be said, that here, more amply than anywhere else at present in Mohenjo-Daro, the conditions for such identification are supplied". (Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Cambridge History of India,* 1953, p. 39).

The Mohenjo-Daro temple of Wheeler by its very form would appear to be a variant architectural essaying of the Vedic '*Chandas-chiti*-altar' orientation which would assume a pyramidal shape with circular or square plan, relating respectively to the Zigguret

or the pyramidal temple order. The side entrances mentioned in the Mohenjo-Daro temple linger on in the Buddhist *Stūpa* entrance as in the *Amarāvatī Stūpa* and the myriads of pillars in the rock-scooping like the Karle *Chaitya*-hall are apparently the successors to the '*sahasrasthūṇa*' prayer halls of the Vedic hymns. The Ṛig Vedic hymns talk about the thousand-pillared and other shrine-structures of the gods indicated by words like *māna* or *vimāna* which is *sahasra-sthūṇa* and a *Sadas*[4] (prayer-hall) which is *sahasra-sthūṇa* and *sahasra-dvāra*. Soma is often assigned in Ṛig Veda the role of a King (Somarājaḥ :—eshavo Bharatā rājā Somo-asmākam Brāhmaṇānām rājā—*Y.V.*, I-8-10) being brought to the Sacrificial Hall with regal pomp. Mitra and Varuṇa are described as Kings invoked or seated in a vast comprehensive or pervasive edifice (*māna*) or hall (*sadas*) with 1,000 pillars or 1,000 domes. This is sufficient evidence to show that Vedic culture was certainly aware of great temples in the sense in which we find temples in Historic India. That there were images and temples in Vedic India or Vedic culture is denied only by those who do not know how much of the *yāga* ritual is intertwined with that of the purely temple (āgamic) ritual and by those who assign *yāga* and *yoga* and *āgama* and *tantra* to different cultures. Indeed one of the seals from Harappa shows a replica of a Vedic shrine.

That structural exhibition in the shape of architecture arose from the Vedic Indian's ambition to record his ritualistic and religious life is borne out by the evidence of fire altars (*chiti*) and sacrificial structural necessities noticed in the Indus Valley and recorded in the Vedas.

4. *Ṛig Veda* II-41.5. rājānā vanabhidruhā dhruve sadasyuttame| sahasra sthūṇa āsāte ||

V-62.6—

rājānā kshatramahṛnīyamānā sahasrasthūṇam bibhṛthaḥ sahadvau | "Ye twain Mitra—Varuṇa! both kings, ever friendly, are seated in this building or prayer-hall which has 1000 pillars and firm foundations". "Ye Mitra-Varuṇa! together of cooperative spirit uphold dominion here in this structure of 1000 pillars".

VIII 88.5.

Bṛihantam mānam varuṇasvadhāvaḥ sahasradvāram jagamāgṛihante |
"Food bestowing Varuṇa! May I repair to thy vast, comprehensive 1000-doored dwelling (*māna*)".

Conclusion

The occurrence of the Great Bath, 39′ × 23′ × 8′, in Mohenjo-Daro of burnt-bricks in such a close proximity to a perennial source of water like the Indus river would call for adequate explanation of its true purpose. The sacrificial altars or *chitis* of prescribed shapes[5], the animals sacrificed in them, the coventional gold jewellery prescribed for the *yajamāna* in Vedic sacrifice ('hemamāli rukmakaṇṭha'), the characteristic pottery vessel (designed the "sahasra-dhāra) for ritually receiving and releasing the *soma*-juice (not a strainer or incense-burner, for which both purposes, its form and lack of charring respectively, make it unsuitable), and, above all, the large-sized and architecturally well-defined tank or bath to be used for the final 'avabhṛtha' bath of the performer of a sacrifice such as *Aśvamedha*—these would constitute eloquent arguments in favour of a Ṛig Vedic setting for the above criteria.

Thus art and architectural forms have already reached definitive stages in the Indus Valley and have a variety of external manifestations in the form of images, sculptures, seals and sealings, terracottas and structures, and it is this sum-total of aesthetic potential that had formed the main springs of cultural inheritance of the succeeding centuries.

Thus we find that even subject to the circumstantial elements of discovery and the small number of preserved seals in the Indus Valley culture, as also the corresponding limitations of the conserved remnants of the Ṛig Vedic texts, the mutual consonance of many of the scenes depicted on the seals with the events and scenes in the Vedic hymns is so striking as to provide promising avenues of research in the equation of these two culture-criteria.

5. *Yajur Veda* T.S.V.—4-11.

1. chhandaśchita—pyramid; 2. śyenachita—hawk; 3. kamkachita—heron; 4. alajachita—eagle; 5. praugachita—triangle; 6. ubhayataḥ praugachita—rhombus; 7. rathachakra—spoked wheel; 8. droṇachita—cylinder., apse; 9. samūhyachita—hemisphere, heap; 10. parichāyya—spiral wheel; 11. śmaśānachita—sepulchre, sarcophagus, rectangular, oblong. As a 12th, is added a *chiti* shaped like a swimming tortoise, hence called Kūrmachiti.

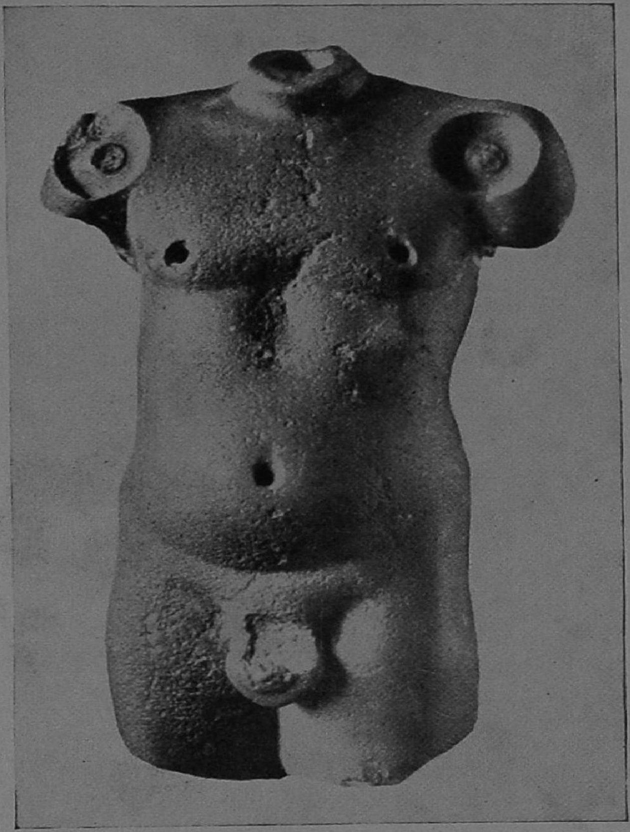

Fig. 1. A red sandstone Statuette from Harappā

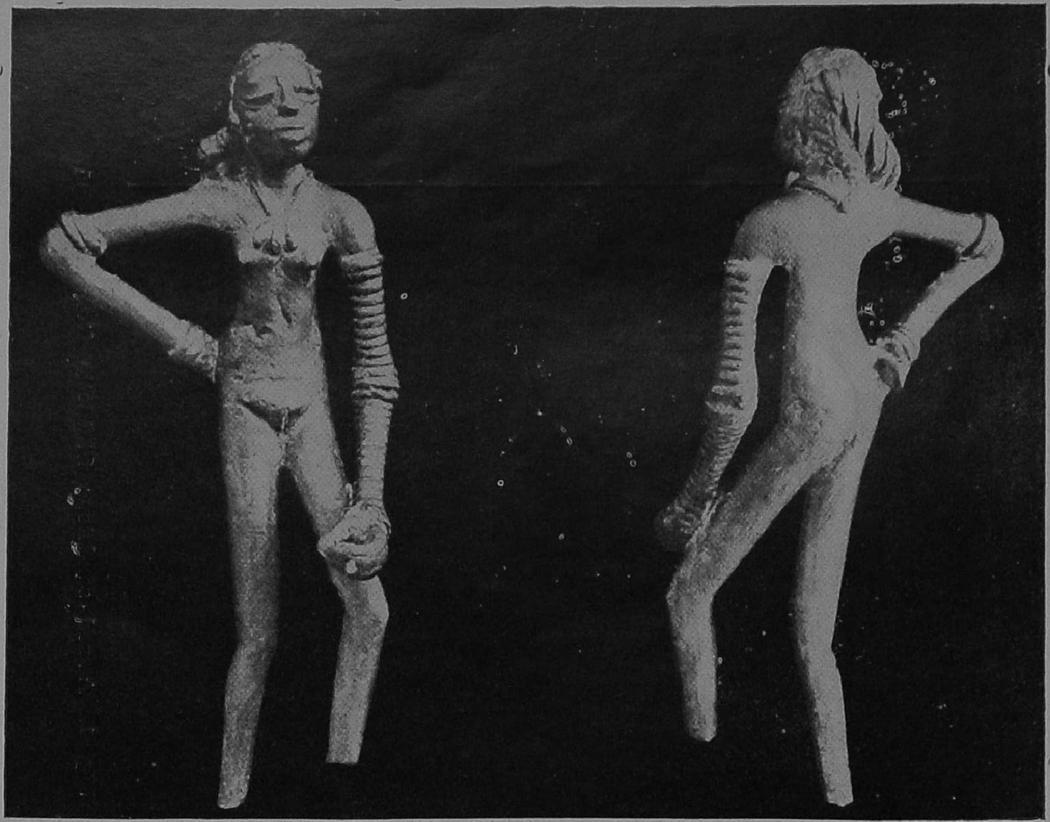

Fig. 2. A bronze statuette of a dancer from Mohenjodaro

Fig. 3. The Sacrifice of Medhyatithi Seal

Fig. 4. 'Pipal tree of Life' Seal

Fig. 5. An engraved seal from Mohenjodaro

Fig. 6. A stone Statuette from Harappā

Fig. 7. Mother Goddess

PALLAVA SKANDASISYA II *

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Scholars who have studied the history of the Pallavas have so far consistently ignored the Rāyakōṭa Plates of Skandaśiṣya.[1] This is probably due mainly to the fact that the donor of the grant, Skandaśiṣya could not be conveniently accommodated in the history of the Pallavas. His exact position in their genealogy and chronology cannot be easily settled. Even the dynasty to which the king belonged is not mentioned in the inscription.

The plates said to have been obtained from Rāyakōṭa in the Krishnagiri taluk, Salem District belonged to the collection of Sir Walter Elliot. They were three in number and were secured by a ring with a seal bearing the emblem of a kneeling bull facing the proper left and a few other emblems not identified. The seal is also said to have had a line of writing, which was not, however deciphered.

As is usual with the copper-plate grants obtained from the Tamil country, it consists of two parts, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil. The Sanskrit portion which is in verse gives particulars about the king. After invocation to Viṣṇu, the mythical genealogy of the family to which Skandaśiṣya belonged is given in it. The genealogy commences with Brahmā, born of the lotus from the navel of Viṣṇu and mentions the following in order: Angiras, Brhaspati, Śamyu, Bharadvāja, Droṇa and Aśvatthāman. Adhirāja Skandaśiṣya was born to the last of them by a Nāga woman. In this family was born another Skandaśiṣya who is described as resembling the pitcher-born Agastya, who drank the sea. The Tamil portion which is in prose says that in the fourteenth year of the reign of Ko vijaya Skandaśiṣya Vikramavarman the king granted on the request of Mahābali Vāṇarājar, Maheśvara Bhaṭṭa being the executor (*ānatti*), the village of Śaragūr

* A paper read before the Archaeological Society of South India on 31-3-1958.

1. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 49-53.

in Mēl-Aḍaiyāṟūnāḍu, a subdivision of Paḍuvūr-kōṭṭam, renaming it Skandaśiṣyamangalam to Mādhava Śarma Bhaṭṭa of the Vatsa gotra and Pravacana sūtra with several exemptions and immunities (*parihāras*) evidently as a *brahmadeya*. No other particulars are furnished in the inscription.

As said above the record does not mention the dynasty to which the donor-king belonged. But the mythical genealogy attributed to him in it is the one usually found in the records of the Pallavas of Kāñcī, especially their copper-plate grants found in the Tamil country from the time of the Kūram Plates of Paramēśvaravarman onwards[2] and also in the Vāyalūr Pillar inscription of Rājasimha.[3]

According to the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam Plates[4] of Nandivarman III, Pallava was the son of Aśvatthāman; and after many kings like Aśokavarman and others born in the family had passed away, was born Kāḷabhartṛ. It is said that Vīrakūrca, son of Cūta Pallava and grandson of Kālabhartṛ obtained the sovereignty along with the hands of the daughter of the chief of serpents (*phanīndrasutā*) and Skandaśiṣya was born of this union. The Rāyakōṭa Plates also mention that Skandaśiṣya was born of a Nāga woman (*dvijihvmgini*). The Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam inscription[5] of Rājakēsarivarman Āditya I registering a land grant to the god of the *mūlasthāna* in the Śiva temple at the place states that the grant was originally made by Skandaśiṣya, and later on ratified by Nara-

2. Kūram Plates of Paramesvaravarman (*S.I.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 144 ff.); Kailāsanātha temple inscription of Rājasimha (*S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 9); Udayēndiram Plates of Nandivarman II (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 361 ff); Kaśākkudi Plates of Nandivarman II (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.); Paṭṭattāḷmangalam Plates of Nandivarman II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 115 ff); Vēlūrpāḷaiyam Plates of Vijaya Nandivarman III (*S.I.I.* Vol. II, pp. 501 ff.); Bāhūr Plates of Nṛpatunga (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 5 ff.).

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 145 ff. It is also to be noted that the Hira Kogilur Plates of the Cāḷukya prince Rājāditya who was a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Kṛṣṇa III and was ruling over the Kadambaḷiga kingdom give the same mythical ancestry to Rājāditya (*Mys. Arch. Report.*, 1936 pp. 177 ff.). But this is in complete variance with the mythical ancestry given in the various Cāḷukyan grants. As such an explanation for this anamoly has to be sought elsewhere, and he cannot be taken as a Pallava. Similarly it is also not possible to take that Skandaśiṣya of the Rāyakōta Plates was a Cāḷukya for the reasons discussed further in this paper.

4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 501 ff.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 277-80.

simhavarman I, the conqueror of Vātāpi.[6] These will show that Skandaśiṣya the first of that name, was not a mythical person, but actually ruled the kingdom of Kāñcī.

The Rāyakoṭa grant is the only inscription of Skandaśiṣya, the second ruler of that name so far recovered. Nor is the ruler mentioned or referred to in any other record, and therefore we have to depend on the palaeographical and other extraneous available evidence for fixing his place in Pallava history and chronology.

The name Skandaśiṣya is interesting. Literally it means the 'disciple of the war-god'.[7] It is not however known if it was only a title by which the king was called. It does not appear to have been borne by any other known Pallava king; and obviously it was taken by the ruler who is the subject of this paper in remembrance of the first ruler of that name and to show that he was a 'reviver of the past'.[8] It might be that he assumed this name to infuse confidence in the minds of his subjects that difficult and hard times were over and that golden age had dawned.

Dr. Hultzsch who edited the Plates in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* was of the opinion that palaeographically the alphabet in them is more developed than that in the Kūram and Kaśākkuḍi Plates but archaic when compared with that in the

6. The inscription of Narasimhavarman I making the gift to the god of *mūlasthāna* at the place has since been found (*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy,* 65 of 1909; also 1933 pt. ii, para 5). But it does not mention that the grant had been previously made by Skandaśiṣya.

7. Is it possible that the word Skandaśiṣya has anything to do with the Tamil word Kandaḻi? It is known that occasionally the Sanskrit letter *ṣa* is equated with the Tamil *ḻa.* cf. Skt. Uṣā = Tamil Uḻai; Skt. māṣa (gold) = Tamil māḻai; Skt. Kaṣāya = Tamil Kiyāḻam. (Also Tamil *tiruviḻa* becoming tiruviṣā among rustics and iḻiśudaḻ = iśudal).

8. Such a practice is not unknown in South Indian history. It is well known that Āditya II son of Sundaracōḻa had the title Karikāla and another Rājakesarivarman of the period was known as Perunaṟ kiḷḷi. (*S.I.I.* (*Texts*) Vol. XIII, Nos. 15 and 21.) A recent writer has identified this Perunaṟkiḷḷi with Rājarāja I himself. (T. N. Subramanyan, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions,* Vol. III pt. 1, Historical Survey, pp. LXXXIV, XCIV). The significance of these Cōḻa rulers bearing names likely to conjure up the minds of people will be evident if it is remembered that at that time the Cōḻa dominions were in the throes of revolution and strife consequent on the invasion and occupation of a portion of the kingdom by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III.

Udayēndiram Plates of Hastimalla.[9] Thus the age of the plates must be in the period roughly between A.D. 700 and 900. This period can be narrowed further down. The Rāyakōṭa plates are written in the ordinary free flowing hand and the Kūram Plates are in similar hand. But the Kaśākkuḍi and Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates are written in an ornamental way. It is well known that some archaic forms used to occur in ornamental writing. But still we find some letters more developed in the Kaśākkuḍi and Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates than in the Kūram and Rāyakōṭa Plates. For instance the initial vowel *i* of the Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates (occurring twice in line 12) has almost attained the modern shape while that found in the Kūram Plates (lines 26 and 37) retain the older form. The Rāyakōṭa Plates which are in the ordinary flowing hand give the older form for the letter (line 10). It would thus appear that the Rāyakōta Plates have to be assigned to a period anterior to the date of the Taṇḍantōṭṭam Plates. They may therefore be assigned roughly to middle of the eighth century, circa A.D. 750.

During that period the Pallava kingdom was ruled by Nandivarman Pallavamalla. It is known that he did not succeed to the Pallava throne in the regular line of succession. He belonged to the junior branch of the family, being the sixth in descent from Bhīma-varman, younger brother of Simhaviṣṇu of the main line. The Kaśākkuḍi Plates state that he was chosen by his subjects as king.[10] The descriptive labels incised below the panels of the historical sculptures found on the walls of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñcīpuram narrate that the kingdom being reduced to a state of anarchy on the death of Parameśvaravarman II, the ministers and others approached Hiraṇyavarman, father of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, with a request to become the king, *he being one able to bear the burden of kingdom and was of pure descent on both sides.* They further say that Hiraṇyavarman

9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 49; for the Udayēndiram Plates of Hastimalla see *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 375 ff. Dr. Hultzsch further says: "If it is admissible to compare the characters of stone inscriptions, which sometimes retain older forms, I would say that the alphabet of the Rāyakōṭa plates lies between the two Kīlmuṭṭugūr inscriptions of Narasimhavarman as the upper limit and the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Nripatrunga—Vikramavarman as the lower one". (*Ep., Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 49-50. For the stone inscriptions see *ibid,* Vol. IV, pp. 182 and 360 plates).

10. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 349 and 357 v. 27.

enquired all the members of his family whether anyone among them was willing to take up the Pallava kingship, that while the others declined to accept it, Pallavamalla, whose real name was Paramesvara, the youngest of the four sons of Hiranyavarman, then only twelve years of age, consented to accept the kingship, and that finally the boy was brought to Kāñcīpuram and crowned king under the name of Nandivarman.[11]

The selection of this boy of the junior branch to assume the Pallava crown was not unanimous and without opposition. It is clear from the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple label inscriptions that Nandivarman even before his coronation, while he was still on his way to the capital for the ceremony, was opposed by a certain Pallavadi-araiyar with his large army. The rival Pallava prince did not succeed in his attempt and was killed in battle on the outskirts of the capital city. The very fact that he came with a large army (*mahābalam*) would show that he was already ruling over a portion of the kingdom and that he had the backing of at least a section of the people. But Nandivarman had no peace even after his coronation.

The coronation of Nandivarman Pallavamalla took place in circa A.D. 733. Immediately after that he had to face an invasion of his kingdom by the Western Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya II who also came to the throne almost at the same time. This expedition is described in the Cāḷukyan records in the following terms: Immediately on coronation being resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy (*prakṛtyamitra*) (i.e. the Pallava) he (Vikramāditya II) reached *Tuṇḍakaviṣaya* in great haste, beat and put to flight at the opening of the campaign the opposing Pallava king named Nandipōtavarman, took possession of particular musical instruments—many elephants and a heap of rubies; he then entered the city of Kāñcī, but did not destroy it and acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the stone temple of Rājasimhesvara and other gods which had been caused to be built by Narasimha Pōtavarman.[12] This statement finds corroboration in the much obliterated short Kannaḍa inscription of Vikramāditya found on one of the pillars of the Rājasimhēsvara shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram which mentions that the king having cap-

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 135.
12. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 23 ff; *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 146.

tured Kāñcī (and) having inspected the riches (belonging) to (the temple of) Rājasiṃheśvara gave (them) again to the God.[13]

It will be evident from the above that the Cāḷukyan victory was complete and that Vikramāditya had captured the Pallava capital Kāñcī; but what became of Nandivarman is not clear. It would appear rather strange that Vikramāditya who had led an expedition to Kāñcī only some two years earlier (A.D. 731) when he was *yuvarāja* during the reign of his father and levied tribute from the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman II should have rushed again against the Pallava kingdom immediately after his own coronation, especially when the new Pallava king was only a boy of twelve. But if we remember that Nandivarman on his way to Kāñcī for his coronation was opposed by another Pallava prince who lost his life in the encounter, it may be surmised that the rival Pallava prince had the support of the Western Cāḷukya king who did not approve of the selection of Nandivarman and therefore was inimical to him, and that the expedition of Vikramāditya against Kāñcī was undertaken obviously to avenge the death of his protege. The Kannada inscription of Vikramāditya II in the Kailāsanātha temple mentioned earlier would show that he himself conducted the expedition personally and that he was present at Kāñcī when the victorious army occupied the city.

The Cāḷukya records mention that Nandivarman was put to flight. Evidently he fled the capital and the country to a place of safety. What became of him after that is not known. It would be natural to expect that Vikramāditya would not have reinstated him on the Pallava throne; nor would he have returned to Vātāpi abandoning the Pallava kingdom after obtaining a signal victory and avenging the death of his protege. He would certainly have placed on the Pallava throne some one of his choice.

The Pallavadi-araiyar who opposed Nandivarman on his way to Kāñcī for his coronation and lost his life appears to be one of the two princes, Jaya Pallavādhirāja and Vṛddhi Pallavādhirāja. "the two dear sons of the Pallava *Yuvarāja*" mentioned as donors in the Hallegare copper plate grant dated in Śaka 635 (A.D. 713-14) corresponding to the thirty-fourth regnal year of the Western Ganga ruler Śivamāra I. These two princes appear to be the

13. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 360.

grandsons of Rājasimha who was the reigning Pallava monarch when the above grant was made.[14] It is possible that the other prince or the son of the one who lost his life in the battle with Nandivarman was installed on the Pallava throne by Vikramāditya. Very likely these cordial relations which these princes had with the Western Gangas, and through them with the Western Cāḷukyas, the family foes of the Pallavas, made them unpopular with a section of the people and drove that section to select the boy-prince Nandivarman to the throne overlooking the claims of those princes, though another reason for not considering them as fit to succeed to the throne was that they had doubts about the purity of their descent on both sides.

This position is in a way confirmed by the Udayēndiram Plates dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The Plates give a graphic account of his long drawn and difficult compaign against the southern powers and the services rendered to the Pallava king by his general Udayacandra, the lord of Vilvalapura. The grant says: "When he (Udayacandra) perceived that Pallavamalla was besieged in Nandipura by the Dramiḷa princes, unable to bear this, like the visible death to the cloud of the enemies of Pallavamalla, slew with (his) sharp sword which glittered like the petal of a water-lily, the Pallava king Citramāya and others (*Citramāya Pallavarājamukhān nihatya*- l. 48) and also that he "defeated the hostile army on the battle fields of Nimba [vana] Cūtavana, Śankaragrāma, Nellūr, Nelvēli, Śūrāvaḷundūr and so forth, and thus bestowed the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava.[15]

It is clear from the above that within twenty years of his reign (1) Nandivarman lost his throne and kingdom presumably on more occasions than one; (2) another Pallava king Citramāya by name and who was inimical to him was ruling over the whole of the Pallava kingdom or at least a portion of it and (3) Nandivarman was once besieged by the Dramiḷa princes in the fort of Nandipura wherefrom he was rescued by Udayacandra after killing Citramāya and others.

14. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. III, Md. 113.
15. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 367 and 372.

The fact that Nandivarman was besieged by his enemies is also referred to in the inscriptions of the Western Cāḷukya king Kīrtivarman II. Both his copper plate grants, the Vakkaḷēri and Kendūr Plates, say that while he was still the heir-apparent (*Yuvarāja*) Kīrtivarman having asked for and obtained an order (from his father) to put down the lord of Kāñcī, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the Pallava king in every quarter, drove him back into the fort from which he emerged, made him powerless, took possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and crores of rubies and delivered them to his father".[16] This campaign of Kīrtivarman against Nandivarman Pallavamalla in the reign of his father Vikramāditya II was different from the expedition which Vikramāditya undertook immediately after his coronation, and should have happened only after Śaka 664 (A.D. 741-42), the eighth regnal year of Vikramāditya II as the Narwan Plates issued in that year mention only the first encounter and not the second. The Plates further state that on account of this victory, Kīrtivarman "thus gradually attained to the position of emperor". It is very likely that the second campaign led by Kīrtivarman II was conducted just before his accession to the throne, in the last days of the reign of his father. The Cāḷukyan records describing this expedition narrate only one phase of it, and the other phase is evidently that which is contained in the Udayēndiram Plates of Nandivarman.

Citramāya said to have been killed by Udayacandra the trusted general of Nandivarman in the siege of Nandipuram is described therein as Pallavarāja. It is known that Citramāya was one of the titles of Paramesvaravarman I.[17] Possibly the Pallava prince of that name who was killed by Udayacandra was a great-grandson of Paramesvaravarman I and bore his name. His being described in the Udayēndiram Plates as the Pallava king (*Pallavarāja*) clearly testifies to the fact that he was actually ruling as king over the Pallava country. If he had been the prince placed on the Pallava throne by Vikramāditya II in the course of his first expedition, then Citramāya would have ruled the kingdom for a period of at least ten to fifteen years. Any attempt to dislodge him from that position would have evoked and brought in

16. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 23 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 204.
17. 531 of 1907; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 20.

immediate protest and retaliation from his protector Vikramāditya II. Probably such attempts were made and hence the invasion of Kīrtivarman. In this connection the statement in the Udayendiram Plates of Nandivarman that Udayacandra, his general bestowed the kingdom many times on his master is also to be noted.

The Rāyakōṭa Plates of Skandaśiṣya (dated in the fourteenth year of his reign) palaeographically assignable to this period have to be accommodated only in this interval. The history of the Pallavas both before and after this short period of confusion is clear and well founded. The next possible period in which the reign of Skandaśiṣya could be accommodated is at the very end of the Pallava rule when the Çōḷas had become powerful and occupied the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. But as remarked earlier, the script in which the Rāyakōṭa Plates are incised is archaic for that period. Under the circumstances the reign of Skandaśiṣya has to be accommodated in the earlier period. But we do not know of any other claimant to the Pallava throne who had more successfully established his claim than Citramāya, which was probably more a title or a surname than the official name of the ruler. Evidently Skandaśiṣya was the name with which he ruled, and Citramāya was the surname or title which he took.

This position is corroborated by a few other pieces of evidence. The gift village Śarugūr was according to the grant situated in the Mēl-Aḍaiyāṟu nāḍu of Paḍuvūr Kōṭṭam. The Udayacandra-mangalam granted as a *brahmadeya* to several *Brāhmaṇas* according to the Udayēndiram plates was also situated in the same sub-division. Not only that. Tiruvēḷāḷamuḍi figures as one of the boundaries of the gift village Śarugūr and this is only the Tamil equivalent of the hill named Vēḷāḷaśikhara mentioned as one of the boundaries of Udayacandramangalam. It will be clear from these that Skandaśiṣyamangalam and Udayacandramangalam, the two *brahmadeyas* newly created by Skandaśiṣya and Nandivarman Pallavamalla respectively were situated side by side with a common boundary between them.

The gift of the *brahmadeya* village mentioned in the Rāyakōṭa Plates was made by Skandaśiṣya at the request of a Mahāvalivāṇarāyar. This Bāṇa chief, whoever he might have been, should have therefore been a subordinate of Skandaśiṣya, acknowledging his suzerainty and thus inimical to or at least not accepting the

overlordship of Nandivarman. Later inscriptions found in the region clearly attest to the fact that the Bāṇa chiefs ruling in this region were loyal to Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his successors and that an early ruler of the dynasty about whom we get some definite knowledge bore the name Nandivarman or Vijaya Nandivarman evidently to mark his subordination to Pallavamalla. But the Puḷḷūr Plates dated in the thirty-third year of Nandivarman indicate that the Pallava fought with and obtained a victory over the Bāṇas, and it should also be noted that the successors of the Bāṇa chief Vijaya Nandivarman bore names like Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya, names not known to have been borne by members of the Pallava family, but frequently met with among the Cāḷukyas. Evidently these names were borne by earlier rulers of the Bāṇa family when they were the subordinates of the Western Cāḷukyas and later on were borne by their successors. Then it would appear that these Mahābali Vāṇarāyars were planted in the region by the Western Cāḷukyas when they set up their own candidate on the Pallava throne as a link between the Pallava on one side and the Western Ganga on the other. The period of rule of Vijaya Nandivarman, the first ruler with whose name the history of the mediaeval Bāṇas commences is placed towards the closing years or at least the latter half of the long reign of sixty five years of Pallavamalla. But his Udayēndiram and Puḷḷūr Plates dated respectively in the twenty-first and thirty-third years of his reign reveal that prior to the period of the Bāṇa chief Vijaya Nandivarman, the region was for sometime at least under the control of the Pūcān family of Vilvalapura to which Udayacandra and Avanicandra belonged. It is possible that mainly with a view to wean the people of the area from the influence of Skandaśiṣya and his supporters that this region which was in the nature of a buffer between the Pallava and the Western Ganga kingdoms was placed by Pallavamalla in charge of his loyal lieutenant Udayacandra and new *brahmadeya* villages colonised by Brahmans supporting him were created in the area.

Skandaśiṣya, the rival of Pallavamalla, placed on the Pallava throne by Vikramāditya II, should have commenced his rule in A.D. 733 or 734, the date of the Western Cāḷukya expedition in to the Pallava country. It is even possible that, not recognising the claim or the interlude of Nandivarman, Skandaśiṣya could have counted the commencement of his reign from the death of Pallavadi-araiyar in the battle field on the outskirts of Kāñcī before

the coronation of Nandivarman. Anyway the difference will not be much. His Rāyakōṭa Plates dated in the fourteenth year of his reign should have been issued in A.D. 746-7. Then we have to take that he was ruling over the Pallava kingdom almost through out the reign of the Western Cāḷukya monarch Vikramāditya II, and it was only after the death of the latter and the accession of Kīrtivarman II on the Western Cāḷukya throne when the disintegration of the Cāḷukya kingdom set in that Nandivarman Pallavamalla was able to regain his throne.

If all the above possibilities are accepted the question naturally arises as to what Pallavamalla himself was doing all the years, say from A.D. 733 to 746-7. Considering the prevailing political condition in South India and the Deccan during the period, it would have been very difficult for Nandivarman to get any good support in his own kingdom. The subsequent events only prove it.

The Udayēndiram Plates mention that Nandivarman obtained victories over the Śabara king Udayana, the Niṣāda chief called Pṛithivi vyāgra of the north who tried to perform an *aśvamedha* to celebrate his might, conquered Viṣṇurāja and annexed his kingdom to his own in addition to inflicting a crushing defeat on the princes of the Dramiḷa country.[18] All these are said to have happened in the first twenty years of his reign. It has been seen earlier that for nearly fifteen years after his coronation he had to live practically outside the Pallava kingdom and was not able even to set foot in it.[19] During this period he appears to have had the support and backing of some foreign power and this could have been none other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were just then emerging into political power in the Deccan and were within the next few years able to overthrow the Western Cāḷukyas (the common enemy both of themselves and the Pallavas) and occupy their country. It is known that Dantidurga, the first king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty also gained a victory over Udayana, who could be no other than the Śabara chief conquered by Nandivarman. This Pallava prince married the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Rēvā, who was presumably a daughter of Dantidurga; and it was their son

18. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 368 and 372.

19. This would show that there was also a powerful section of the people in the kingdom who were strongly opposed to him.

Dantivarman that succeeded Nandivarman on the Pallava throne. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Danti is credited in the Begumra Plates of Govinda III with having reduced first the lower most (i.e. the southern) country, then turned his attention to Madhyadeśa and finally conquered the city of Kāñcī.[20] The presence of Vairamegha who is again no other than Dantidurga along with Nandivarman according to the Kadaba Plates[21] is also alluded to by the Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumangai Āḻvār in his hymns on the deity of the Aṣṭha bhuja temple.[22] The relationship of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with Nandivarman throughout his long reign appears to have been cordial. We may not therefore be wrong if we surmise that when Nandivarman immediately after his coronation was put to flight by Vikramāditya II, he repaired to the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga where he lived for some years probably receiving training in state craft and military sciences and later regained the Pallava throne with the Rāṣṭrakūṭā help. During that period Skandiśiṣya appears to have been in occupation of the Pallava throne and kingdom with the help of Cālukya Vikramāditya II, though there could have been some internal opposition to him.

20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 24. v. 6.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 334.
22. *Periya Tirumoḻi*, II. 8. 10.

Maṉṉavaṉ toṇḍaiyar kōṉ vaṇangum
nīṉ muḍi mālai vayiramēgaṉ.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF KAṆḌIYŪR*

BY

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Government Museum, Madras

1. *Śiva Temple*

The village of Kaṇḍiyūr is about 5 miles to the north of Tanjore. Here there are three temples of which the Viṣṇu and Śiva temples which are important for the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas respectively are of interest. We have dealt with their importance briefly elsewhere.[1] In the same place some of the sculptures occurring in the Śiva temple have been noticed. In this article the remaining interesting items of sculpture and architecture of the temple will be noticed.

The Śiva temple, which is now very extensive, is one of the Aṣṭa-Vīrasthānas[2] of Tamil-nāḍ where Śiva's *samhāra* aspect in which he cut off the fifth head of Brahmā is important. Hence, the temple is called that of Vīraṭṭāṇēśvara, the deity Brahmaśiraḥ-khaṇḍīśvara and the village Brahmaśiraḥkhaṇḍīśvarapuram which in Tamil is known as Kaṇḍiyūr. This temple forms also one of another group of local seven *kṣetras* called *Saptasthānas*[3] of which it is the fifth. According to tradition the sage Sadānanda worshipped at this temple. The famous Śaiva saints namely Tirujñāna-sambandar and Tirunāvukkaraśar (Appar) have sung *Dēvārams,*

*Second part of the paper read at the meeting of the Society on 22-3-56.

1. *Laḷit Kalā,* Nos. 3 and 4.

2. The other seven *Vīrasthānas* where the other *samhāra* aspects of Śiva are important are as follows:—

Tirukkovalūr (destruction of Andhakāsura); Tiruvadigai (burning of the Tripuras); Tiruppaṟiyalūr (cutting off of the head of Dakṣa Prajāpati); Tiruviṟkudi (destruction of Jalandharāsura); Vaḻuvūr (destruction of Gajāsura); Tirukkuṟukkai (burning of Kāma) and Tirukkaḍavūr (kicking away of Yama or Kāla).

3. They are the following:—

Tiruvaiyāṟu, Tiruppaḻaṉam, Tiruccoṟṟutturai, Tiruvedikuḍi, Tirukkaṇḍiyūr, Tiruppūndurutti and Tiruneittāṉam.

in beautiful Tamil, in praise of the Lord here. The Śiva and Viṣṇu *kṣetras,* situated on either banks of the perennial Kāvērī amongst ever-green surroundings present a glorious appearance. Kaṇḍiyūr and Tiruvaiyāṟu are excellent examples of such *kṣetras.* That the great boy-saint Tirujñānasambandar was also struck by the beautiful natural setting of the temple is evident from the telling phrases with which he describes it in his *Dēvāram.* These phrases are:

"கலைவிலார் புணர் காவிரிக் கரைமேய";
"கள்ளவிழ் பொழில் சூழும்";
"கழைபுலாம் புனல் மல்கு காவிரி மன்று";
"கருமையார் பொழில் சூழ்தண் புனல்" and
"கமரழிவயல் சூழ்த்தண் புனல்".

(Tirumurai III).

Architecture of the central shrine

The central shrine of the Śiva temple which is of stone is a simple, but beautiful *dvitala prāsāda* (fig. 1). Its plan is almost similar to that of the central shrine of the Sundareśvara temple at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai built in the third year of Āditya I. (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas,* p. 702, plan II). There was the pit round it similar to the pits round the Nāgēśvara temple[4] at Kumbakōṇam, the Koranganātha temple[5] at Śrīnivāsanallūr, the Brahmapurīśvara temple at Puḷḷamaṅgai and several other temples. It has unfortunately been filled in recently. Now, therefore, the parts above the *kaṇṭhavarga* alone are visible. There are in the *kaṇṭhavarga,* below each pilaster, small panels of bas-reliefs. The pilasters are interesting. They are protruding much from the walls, unlike even those of the Nāgēśvara temple of Kumbakōṇam. They are circular in section but not quite smooth as the pilasters of the Koranganātha temple and different from the square pilasters of Nāgēśvara temple. Only the beginnings of the *kalaśa* element are seen here whereas in other temples it has become rather pronounced. The *kumuda* is prominent. The *padma* is subdued; at any rate not so prominent as in the temples of Nāgeśvara and the Agastyeśvara of Mēlappaḻuvūr.[6] "The *palagai* (abacus) is much expanded".[7] The *podigai* is bevelled and its angle is very wide.

4. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri *The Cōḷas* (revised edn. 1955), Pl. III, Fig. 6.
5. *Ibid.,* Pl. V, Fig. 10.
6. *Ibid.,* Pl. V, Fig. 9.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 704.

The *kapota* is massive and is much more archaic in style than the above temples. As usual "string courses or friezes of *yāḷis* above it and of *bhūtagaṇas* in various humorous postures below it"[8] are seen. There are the *kūḍus* on the *kapota* which are simpler than those of other temples. Simple *koḍikkarukku* ornamentations is also seen. It is also to be noted that the projection of the *deva-koṣṭhas* is greater in this temple than in the Nāgeśvara and the Koranganātha. Coming to the *śālās* and *karṇakoṣṭhas,* there are four of each group. Each of them is worked like a real miniature shrine and is independent by itself and does not at all give any impression of having been attached to the wall behind. Simplicity and boldness are other characteristics of workmanship of these decorative shrines. The *tala* from where the *śikhara* rises, has a couchant bull at each of its corner. The *grīva* is high and cylindrical and its diameter is wide. There are four *koṣṭhas* on it containing figures like Vaikuṇṭhanātha in them. These are heavily plastered during the modern period (i.e. after 1600 A.D.) hence the introduction of arches at the top of each *koṣṭha.* The bulbous *śikhara* with its four *simhalalāṭas,* one coming over each *koṣṭha* of the *grīva,* is beautiful but it is also plastered during the modern period. The ceiling of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* is divided into three compartments. Interestingly, here all along the four sides of the beams, friezes of geese are carved which is rather unusual.

From the foregoing details it will be clear that this temple is earlier than the other temples including the Nāgeśvara of Kumbakōṇam which is said to be one of the "notable temples of this early phase of the transition (Vijayālaya-Āditya I period)[9] to the Cōḷa style".[10] But in the case of the latter temple its attribution to this "early phase", is supported by the evidence of the existence of a few survivals such as the four lion-pillars of Pallava style and a few sub-shrines and a Jyeṣṭhā sculpture.[11] In the case of the Śiva temple under examination here, no sub-shrines are evident. Their absence is not easily accounted for. But there are a few early sculptures one of which is an interesting Ardhanārīśvara which gives a clue to the dating of the temple. Now it is kept on a platform behind the shrine. But it is quite likely that it was originally placed in the *koṣṭha* behind the shrine where now a Lin-

8. *Ibid.*, p. 704.
9. Words within brackets are ours.
10. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 703.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 703.

godbhava sculpture finds a place. This Ardhanārīśvara,[12] quite unlike any known so far, is seated although in other respects it is somewhat similar to the Ardhanārīśvara from the Nāgeśvara temple. Seated figures of this icon are very rare, only a few examples including the one from Mahābalipuram now in the Madras Museum and another[13] from Kāñchīpuram both in the Pallava style being known. Hardly a single seated Ardhanārīśvara sculpture is known as belonging to periods later than 900 A.D. This circumstance, which is of course to be used with great reservation, coupled with the early features of the sculpture, may be taken to indicate the fact that seated Ardhanārīśvaras preceded the standing ones. A discussion on this will be found on pp. 79-80 below.

There is another piece of evidence in support of the above hypothesis. As has been said above, just as in the case of the Nāgeśvara of Kumbakōṇam, the Brahmapurīśvara of Puḷḷamangai "built in the early years of Parāntaka I resembling the Nāgeśvara in many ways"[14] and several other temples, the Śiva temple under discussion also has small bas-reliefs in panels of about 9″ × 6″ below the pilasters of the shrine, depicting scenes from the epic and the Purāṇas. Of these bas-reliefs there were two rows. The lower row has been completely hidden by the filling in of the pit round the shrine. So, what the stories depicted in them are, cannot be said. The upper row contains scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Śiva Purāṇa. Scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, etc., are known from the other temples noted above. But the existence of bas-reliefs showing Śiva as Naṭeśa, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, etc., which are found in the Śiva temple under study is hardly known from other places. The forms of Naṭeśa and Dakṣiṇāmūrti[15] are quite in early traditions and their workmanship is superb. The Naṭeśa especially is almost a replica of the Paṭṭadakkal Naṭeśa;[16] nevertheless it is a masterly local version.

Evidence furnished by these sculptures notwithstanding, independent evidence of a more definite character namely inscriptions,

12. See *Lalit Kalā,* Nos. 3 and 4, for description of this figure.
13. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol. II, Pt. I, Pl. XCVII.
14. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.,* p. 706.
15. For details and plates see *Lalit Kalā,* Nos. 3 and 4.
16. P. R. Srinivasan, *Śiva Naṭarāja, the Cosmic Dancer,* Roop-Lekha, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, Fig. 4.

is also available for purposes of dating the temple. The earliest inscription engraved in archaic Tamil characters on the north wall of this temple belongs to the 21st year of Ko-Vijaya-Nṛpatuṅga-vikramavarma[17] (accn. *circa* 860-1 A.D.) a later Pallava king who was a contemporary of Chōḷa Āditya I (accn. *circa* 870-1 A.D.).[18] It is therefore certain that the temple existed even before 882 A.D. the date of the Nṛpatuṅga's inscription. But in view of the fact that its architectural features are in a style somewhat later than that in which the Vijayālayacōḷeśvara[19] of Melamalai which is dated between 850-870 A.D. is constructed, the inference is possible that it was built sometime after 870 A.D. It is difficult to fix the king who was responsible for its construction. Though the idea of the seated Ardhanārīśvara may be traced to Pallava sources, its style and the style of other sculptures to be examined below, being Cōḷa the building of the temple may be attributed to Āditya I and not to a Pallava king. Granted this, the rare survival of Pallava iconographic forms, as for instance, the seated Ardhanārīśvara, and the occurrence of sculptures of early forms of dance of Śiva may be taken to indicate that the temple was built during the early years of Āditya's reign, and is therefore one of the earliest of the early Cōḷa temples. The plan of the temple being similar to that of the central shrine of the Sundareśvara temple at Tirukkaṭṭlai, which was built during the third year of Āditya I, in spite of the absence of the sub-shrines lends support to this.

Bas-relief Sculptures

Among the bas-reliefs there are two series one representing scenes from the Śiva Purāṇa and the other depicting scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa. A number of panels have been so much worn out that it is now difficult for one to study them satisfactorily. Of the former series those which are preserved tolerably, include the Naṭeśa and the Dakṣiṇāmūrti already referred to and a Vṛiṣārūḍha and a Kalyāṇasundara.

Vṛiṣārūḍha : It shows Śiva and Umā riding a bull. Owing to blurring, except for the legs of Śiva no other details can be clearly seen. The bull is a little better preserved. It is of the humped

17. *A.R.E.*, 17 of 1895.
18. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
19. *Ibid.*, Pl. I, Fig. 1.

variety with a heavily folded dewlap. It has lifted up its head and front pair of legs causing the bending of the hind legs, suggesting remarkably its trotting. The facial expression of the bull is so delineated as to suggest its complete satisfaction of the task which it is performing. Early representations as independent groups of Śiva as Vṛiṣārūḍha (i.e., actually riding the bull) occur[20] rarely in South India, although early Vṛiṣāntikamūrtis (less correctly called as Vṛiṣavāhanamūrti where Śiva stands leaning on the bull) are better known as for instance the sculpture from Mahābalipuram.[21] Vṛiṣārūḍhas forming part of a sculptural or pictorial composition with Viṣṇu as the main theme dating from early times are available, e.g., the magnificent Śeṣaśāyin[22] sculpture from the temple at Deogarh in the Jhansi district. The importance of the little bas-relief under examination here representing this icon occurring in a temple datable to the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. from South India cannot be exaggerated. For, here Śiva in "this aspect is held in high veneration by the people because Śiva has often appeared in person in this form[23] before his devotees, and where one day, among the ten days festival in any Śiva temple, the image of this aspect of Śiva is carried round the streets in procession and that day is held by people as the most important of all the days of the festival."[24] This sculpture may be said to be one of the earliest representations of its kind.

Kalyāṇasundara: In another panel (fig. 2) the scene of the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī is represented. Here there are five standing figures arranged in two groups, three male figures forming the group on the right and a male and a female figure forming the group on the left. The leader of the former group has a *jaṭābhāra* and is given all prominence. He holds his right hand

20. T. A. Gopinatha Rao gives two illustrations of this aspect in his *E.H.I.* Vol. II, Pt. I, Pl. CXII, Figs. 1 and 2. He says of these sculptures "the first piece of sculpture belonging to the Hoysala School and the second to the modern Nāṭṭukoṭṭai artisans and the former is fitted up now in the reconstructed Kedāreśvara temple at Haḷebīḍu and the latter in the Sundareśvara temple at Madura." *Ibid.*, p. 356.

21. *Ibid.*, Pl. CXI.

22. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXII.

23. This form is called in Tamil *Kātchikoḍuttanāyakar.*

24. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *ibid.*, pp. 352-53. It may be mentioned here that the equivalent of this *Vṛiṣārūḍha-seva* of the *Śiva* temples is the *Garuḍārūḍha-seva* of the Viṣṇu temples.

in the posture of receiving and the left hand in the *kaṭyavalambita pose*. He does not seem to possess more hands. He wears a lower garment reaching to the ankles, with the waist-band shown in a beautiful loop in front. A *hāra* and *yajñopavīta* are in evidence. The two persons behind this figure are exactly similar to it except for the difference in their head-dresses. They in all probability are the *Devās.* All the three figures stand with a slight flexion in their left legs and with a little tilting of head. This posture is beautiful and pleasing. The male figure of the second group which faces the other group has a high *kirīṭa* and has four hands. The *śankha* and *cakra* carved distinctly on the left and right sides respectively, of his head, as if held in the two upper hands, are enough to show that Viṣṇu is represented here. He too wears ornaments and drapery similar to those of the above figures. He is leaning sufficiently forward and holds his visible lower hands in the posture of giving. The manner in which he is shown squeezed into a small space is indicative of his comparatively subsidiary position in the scene. The female figure standing in front of Viṣṇu, also facing the other group, is leaning too much forward and holds her hands in *añjali* (?) pose. Coming as she does in between Viṣṇu and the person with *jaṭābhāra* on his head it is easy to identify her as Pārvatī and the latter as Śiva. The significant postures of Viṣṇu and Pārvatī naturally suggest that she is being given away in marriage by Viṣṇu to Śiva who, as mentioned above, is in the posture of receiving.

Though the panel is small, the superb workmanship of the figures is apparent. In spite of the fact that five figures are introduced in a small space indeed a late survival of Amarāvatī art traditions—there is apparently no feeling of crowding here. On the contrary, the fine grouping of the figures and the perfect balance make the panel an exquisitely beautiful composition.

A word about the vogue of the theme in ancient times may be said. Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī has been one of the very popular themes and people of ancient India of all walks of life seem to have liked it very dearly. To cite only a couple of telling examples for its popularity with the people, there is the immortal Kumārasambhava of Kavi Kāḷidāsa in the realm of poetry and there is a whole city of Madurai and the temple of Śrī Mīnākshi-Sundareśvara in the realm of art, devoted entirely to this theme. In the field of sculpture Indian artists of all periods seem

to have been specially delighted to represent, over and over again with as much elaboration of details and artistic merits as possible, in stone, metal and paint this subject of marriage of the *Purāṇa-dampati* which is of universal interest. Otherwise we would not have had such magnificent sculptures of this theme as at Ellora,[25] Elephanta,[26] Ratanpūr (Bilaspur District)[27] and Chhātingrām, Bogrā.[28] Its vogue in Southern India has been marked particularly from about the beginning of the Cōḷa rule. It is exemplified by the bas-relief under discussion. That it became very popular from the 10th century onwards has been proved by the marvellous group of bronzes[29] from Tiruveṇkāḍu, Veḷvikkuḍi (in the Tanjore Art Gallery), and Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[30] and stone sculptures especially from Madura.[31] In the light of the above, the appreciation of the bas-relief from Kaṇḍiyūr becomes easy.

The Rāmāyaṇa series commences with the scene of the devas visiting the Brahmaloka (fig. 3) and representing to Brahmā about Rāvaṇa's unbearable deeds. Here Brahmā with three youthful faces and *jaṭāmakuṭas* is seated on a double lotus. He is probably shown in the *vyākhyānamudrā*. The devas with youthful physique and beautiful head-dresses and ornaments are shown standing around Brahmā. On the right hand bottom corner there are two seated figures of *ṛishis*. The posture of one of them is done with great skill. It may be mentioned here that such emaciated *ṛishis* with their bodies twisted and shaped into all possible crooked postures have been carved or pictured throughout the ages. There is an animal at the top right corner which looks like a horse. Its presence here is puzzling because according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the goddess of earth in the disguise of a cow accompanied the devas to Brahmaloka which is however missing from here.

Viṣṇu as Śeṣaśāyin : There is another panel where the next scene from the *Rāmāyaṇa* is depicted. Viṣṇu reclining on the couch of Ādi-śeṣa whose outspread hoods form a canopy over his

25. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, Pl. CIV, CV.
26. *Ibid.*, Pl. CIII.
27. *Ibid.*, Pl. CII.
28. C. Sivaramamurti, *Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography* in *Ancient India*, No. 6 (January 1950), Pl. XIX c.
29. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXI, Fig. 82.
30. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, Pl. CI.
31. *Ibid.*, Pl. CVI, CVII.

head. Viṣṇu is approached by Brahmā followed by the other devas, for help. Unfortunately this panel has suffered much weathering, but still enough details are preserved to show that this is almost an exact miniature copy of the famous Śeshaśāyin sculpture from Māmallapuram.

Daśaratha distributing pāyasa: The next interesting panel (fig. 4) shows the scene of Daśaratha distributing the *pāyasa* he received from the *Yajñapuruṣa* that manifested from the *homa-kuṇḍa* of the *Putrakāmeṣṭi* sacrifice. Here the emperor is seated on a bench with his right leg placed on the knee of the left and leaning forward holding the bowl of *pāyasa* in his right hand and resting his body on the left hand placed on the left foot. He wears a beautiful crown. The profile in which he is shown is treated with consummate skill and the modelling is perfect. He is attended by a woman shown behind him. In front of him, on the floor are seated one behind the other, two ladies, whom we can identify as the queens Kausalyā and Kaikeyī respectively, who wear beautiful *karaṇḍamakuṭas* and other ornaments. They are shown in three quarters profile and their slender form and soft limbs are treated equally nicely. Just above the head of the lady who is nearer to the emperor and whom we identify as Kausalyā is another royal lady obviously representing Sumitrā. Behind this lady is another figure. This sculpture is noteworthy for its magnificent compositional qualities.

Sītā's marriage: A very beautiful panel is the one which represents the scene of Sītā's marriage with Rāmā. This panel is found at the bottom of one of the jambs of the entrance to the *garbhagṛiha* where it is pitch-dark. No good photograph could be taken of it. Yet as this is a masterpiece that shows the skill and ability of the sculptor at their best it may be described here.

Here the sculpture is divided into two compartments, as it were, by the clever use of the *agni-kuṇḍa* in between them. The compartment on the left shows two seated figures, the one seated in front of fire perhaps being engaged in the ritual, and two figures standing behind the seated ones, one of them with *jaṭā-bandha* and a beard representing perhaps Janaka. The other compartment shows the two most important personages of the scene namely Rāma and Sītā who face the figures in the other compartment. Though in early bas-relief works no distinction of size, etc., is found between two equally important figures, here Rāma's figure seems slightly more conspicuous than that of Janaka. This is pro-

bably due to the instinctive urge of the sculptor to give prominence to the divine being in the human form. Rāma stretches his right hand out as if receiving the water poured from a *kuṇḍika* held by Janaka standing opposite to him. With his feft hand, he holds the left hand of Sītā who stands behind him. Rāma's head and shoulders lean a bit forward in the significant posture of accepting a gift. He wears a beautiful head-gear, his shoulders are broad and powerful, his limbs are slender and supple, and the flexions are slight, gentle and rhythmic. The figure of Sītā is of course a magnificent study of a woman at the first flush of her marital experience. She stands in profile in the beautiful *tribhaṅga* posture. She holds something, probably a lotus, in her right hand while her left hand is held by Rāma. She keeps her left leg in front and the right leg at the back, both of which gently curve as though by the weight of her body. The grace and beauty of the flexion here which is in continuation of that of the head and torso, are really reminiscent of those of the colourful and magnificent black princess (Yaśodhara?) of Ajaṇṭa paintings. Thus such features of this sculpture as grouping of figures with an eye on proper spacing in between, restrained rhythm pervading their postures, the subdued decorative embellishments and the divine composure and poise go to prove this as a grand composition. Further the great ideas that form a sacremental marriage such as *kanyādāna* (gift of girl) in the presence of Agni by the parent of the girl and the *pāṇigrahaṇa* (catching hold of the girl's palm) by the bridegroom are all given due prominence in the panel.

Tortoise and Geese: Among the bas-relief sculptures, the most interesting is the one which represents the story of the tortoise and two geese (fig. 5). This sculpture occurs in the south-west corner of the main shrine among the Śiva-gaṇas carved in a series below the cornice. This story is a very old one and is one of the stories of the Buddhist Jātakas known as *Kacchapa Jātaka*. A representation of this is found among the sculptures from Sārnāth in a Buddhist context. Then it occurs at Bhuvaneśvar amongst Hindu sculptures. In a Hindu context the story may be said to have been based on the version found in the *Pañcatantra* or *Hitopadeśa*. In South India, this representation is, perhaps, the earliest and the only one of its kind known so far and to our knowledge this is the first time it is being brought to the notice of scholars.

Here the sculpture shows a tortoise hanging by catching hold of a stick by its mouth. Two geese with outspread wings suggesting their flight, are seen each catching hold of an end of the stick by its mouth. According to the Hitopadeśa (*Sandhi, kathā,* 1 ff.) the story is as follows : In Magadha there was a lake called Phullotpala where lived a couple of geese called respectively Saṅkaṭa and Vikaṭa. There also lived their friend, a tortoise named Kambugrīva. One day the tortoise overheard a conversation between fishermen who wanted to catch the fish and tortoise of the lake and it therefore became alarmed. It then reported this to its friends, the geese, and requested them to carry it away from that lake to another one. It also gave the geese the solution to the problem of carrying it. It said that it would catch hold of a stick and the geese should lift it up by carrying, with their mouths, each an end of the stick. After great deliberation the geese agreed to the suggestion of the tortoise but sincerely advised it to be extremely careful not to open its mouth on any pretext, while they were up in the sky with it, because opening the mouth would prove fatal to it. The tortoise complacently gave its assent. The next day the plan was put into practice, by the three friends. After traversing considerable distance through the sky, these were passing through a village. The villagers having seen for the first time this novel thing happening collected together and followed them crying loudly. This was heard by all the three friends, but the geese being faithful to their friend never allowed themselves to be perturbed by the cries of the villagers lest they should by opening their mouths, cause the death of the tortoise. On the contrary the tortoise, being extremely foolish, became agitated and angry with the men on the earth below, and wanted to say to them 'shut up your mouth', by opening its mouth. Alas ! it did open its mouth accordingly; and the next moment it fell down and became a shapeless mass of flesh which became the bone of contention amonst the villagers !

The Jātaka version[32] of the story is the following :—

King Brahmadatta of Benares had a wise counseller who was no other than the Bodhisattva. The king was very talkative. The counseller knew the dangerous nature of this trait of the king. In order to teach the king a lesson the counseller narrated to him

32. Cowell and Rouse, *Jātaka*, ii, No. 215, pp. 123-24.

the story of the fate of the long-tongued tortoise, which had the desired effect on the king.

The story, in the main, is the same in both the versions. In the Jātaka version, the geese are said to have tempted the tortoise to visit their home in the Himalayas; and the narrator of the story was the Buddha in one of his previous lives.

Perhaps it has some special significance when this sculpture with geese predominating in it, occurs in a temple dedicated to that aspect of Śiva in which he took the extreme step of cutting off the fifth head of Brahmā, whose vehicle is a divine goose, in order to humble him. It does not seem to be a mere coincidence that there are the friezes of geese on the beams supporting the ceiling of the *ardhamaṇḍaba*.

Sculptures in the round

Brahmās. There are quite a few interesting sculptures in the round in this temple. Of these, the two Brahmā images may be dealt with first in view of the special association of Brahmā with this temple. One of them has been removed to Tanjore and it is the earlier of the two. Its two upper arms have unfortunately been broken and missing. It has been discussed already by O. C. Gangoly.[33] Compared to the Brahmā figure from Karandai[34] which is slightly disproportionate in the treatment of its limbs, this Brahmā is highly proportionate and beautifully modelled. But its details are more advanced in style than those of the Karandai Brahmā; hence it is later in date than that and may be assigned to about the early half of the 10th century A.D. The other Brahmā which is in the temple and worshipped is later than the above Brahmā. A Sarasvatī figure is also found along with this Brahmā in the temple and it is still further late in date. Regarding the Brahmā cult of those times as revealed by these sculptures refer to our article in the issue of the Transactions for 1956-57.

Ardhanārīśvara: The importance of the sculpture representing seated Ardhanārīśvara (fig. 6) in respect of the dating of the temple, has been referred to above (p. 70). Its present position

33. *Rupam*, Nos. 35 and 36, July-Oct. 1928, pp. 29-30.

34. P. R. Srinivasan *Important works of Art of the Early Chola Period from near Tanjore* in the TASSI for 1956-57, pp. 59-60, Figs. 12 and 13.

requires some explanation, which according to us, will throw light on the question of when and why the practice of placing Ardhanārīśvara figures was discontinued and what is its cultural significance. The inscriptions that come just after the inscription of the 21st year of Vijaya-Nṛpatuṅgavikramavarman belong to the time of Parāntaka I,[35] and the regnal years mentioned therein are somewhat high. This shows that Parāntaka began to bestow attention on this temple after the lapse of some years after his accession. It is known that in some of the temples belonging to the time, of this king Ardhanārīśvara images do not find a place as for instance, the Kadambavaneśvara temple of Erumbur (S. Arcot) built in A.D. 935.[36]

Parāntaka I, a great Śaiva Emperor

Before proceeding further, it will be good to know when the practice of placing the Ardhanārīśvara image at the back of the sanctum of Śiva temples came into vogue. It is known that generally during the early Pallava period in all Śiva temples Viṣṇu image finds a place there. The Liṅgodbhava form of Śiva even when it occurs in those temples, is shown only in some other *koṣṭha,* but not in that which is directly behind the *liṅga,* e.g., the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcīpuram. The practice of showing Viṣṇu seems to have continued in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam upto the time of Aparājita Pallava (890-907 A.D.) as known from the temple at Tiruttaṇi in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam of his time.[37] There is hardly a single instance of a Pallava Śiva temple having an Ardhanārīśvara image in the back niche. Even after the time of Aparājita, several Śiva temples of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam continued to have Viṣṇu only at the back. Of course there are certain exceptions, as for example, the Śiva temple at Tirupāśūr near Tiruvellore which has a Liṅgodbhava. In the Cōḷamaṇḍalam the case seems to have been different. Being ardent Śaivas, the first few kings of the Vijayālaya line seem gradually to have preferred to instal an Ardhanārīśvara image instead of a Viṣṇu image in the Śiva temples built during their time. The reason for the choice of this aspect of Śiva is obvious. It is but natural that the idea of Śiva and Pārvatī, the eternal couple (*Purāṇa Dampati*) and the universal parents (*Jaga-*

35. *A.R.E.*, 14, 15, 16, 19 of 1895.
36. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 707.
37. A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Vol. III, Pl. XI d.

tah Pitarau), being united in one and the same form, which has been so beautifully and affectionately expressed as *Ammaiappa* by the Tamils caught the imagination of these great kings, as it has enchanted Kāḷidāsa, the great poet of India. The theme had another historical and religious significance too, which added to its merits. It is well known that it is in this form that Śiva gave *darśana* to the boy-saint Tirujñānasambandar who burst forth instantaneously into rapturous singing of songs, in exquisite Tamil, in praise of the Lord. The very first song that this inspired saint sang commences with the wonderful Tamil expression of this *Ammaiappa* aspect of Śiva as *Toḍuḍaia-śeviyaṉ* which means a man with a woman's ear ornament in his ear or in other words a hermaphrodite.

The temple attributable to Vijayālaya, the first king of the imperial Cōḷa dynasty, is the Vijayālayacōḷeśvara Mēlamalai in the Pudukkotai area. It does not contain any Ardhanārīśvara image. The other temple in the Pudukkottai area namely the Sundareśvara at Tirukkaṭṭaḷai, already referred to, belonging to the third year of Āditya I, too, does not contain an Ardhanārīśvara. The Nāgeśvara and other later temples contain only a beautiful standing figure of the icon. The Ardhanārīśvara of the Kaṇḍiyūr Śiva temple in question seems not only earlier in style than these but also continues the seated posture which characterises similar icons of earlier date. These circumstances may be taken to suggest that this Ardhanārīśvara is perhaps the earliest and the first example to be made under the aegis of Āditya I who was probably the author of this temple which he arranged to be constructed some years after he ascended the throne, at any rate some time after his third year to which the Sundareśvara temple of Tirukkaṭṭalai may be attributed. Though he started with a beautiful seated Ardhanārīśvara based on the earlier traditions, he seems to have given it up some time after the construction of the Kaṇḍiyūr Śiva temple and to have arranged for making standing images which became the norm since then. One of the earliest images of this variety and one which is superior in some respects to the image of the Nāgeśvara temple[38] is the Ardhanārīśvara from Tiruvirāmīśvaram.[39]

38. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII, Fig. 42.
39. C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX B. ..

This tradition seems to have continued throughout Āditya I's rule, and it was probably confined to the Cōḷamaṇḍalam. But since the time when Parāntaka I came to the Cōḷa throne Śaivism began to develop rapidly and he seems to have paid a good deal of attention personally to this as testified to by the tradition that he covered the roof of the hall in the Chidambaram temple where Śiva dances, with golden tiles. It has been said above that the temple at Erumbur (South Arcot) built during his 28th regnal year contains, in the niche assigned till then to an Ardhanārīśvara, an Aruṇācaleśvara form of Śiva. Though this temple may not be the earliest to show this feature yet one fact becomes clear that at least from about his 28th year Parāntaka began to introduce this significant change in the icons to be placed in the *koṣṭha* behind the Śiva shrines. The tradition of placing a Lingodbhava image which is only a variation of the Aruṇāchalesvara form appears therefore to have had its beginnings from then; and apparently since its inception it seems to have spread wider than the tradition relating to the Ardhanārīśvara figure.

Coming to the Ardhanārīśvara of Kaṇḍiyūr, it becomes now clear that its removal from its original place was effected after the Lingodbhava tradition was introduced into the temple scheme, probably during the last years of Parāntaka I. This also accounts for the undisturbed existence of the Ardhanārīśvara images in such temples as the Nāgeśvara of Kumbakonam.

Why should the image based on the beautiful *Ammaiappa* concept introduced by his father be deleted and the Lingodbhava concept chosen by Parāntaka? No doubt the former theme is equally lofty and has the sanction not only of age-old traditions but also of the Tamil scriptures. But it may be remembered here that it was only from the period of Parāntaka I "there is a regular series of endowments recorded in epigraphs of the Cōḷa and Toṇḍai countries for the recitation of the *Devaram* hymns, to the accompaniment of musical instruments."[40] Sometimes it is even said that the first attempt at the redaction of the Śaiva Tirumuṟais was made during his period although it is not conclusively proved. Anyway that Parāntaka I was active in the propagation of the Tirumuṟais is clear from the above. While engaged in this work, it is quite likely that he was struck by the wonderful concept of

40. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 637-38.

Śiva being a pillar of fire of which the bottom and top could not be found out by Viṣṇu and Brahmā respectively. Like the *Ammaiappa* concept, this is also an ancient one to be traced back to the *Vedas* and later to the Pāli Buddhist literature of periods earlier than the Christian era where this concept finds important place while describing the Buddha orally which was the basis for depicting him in sculpture and painting. But the difference between these two great concepts is that the former is benign and ennobling while the latter is awe-inspiring and somewhat aggressive. That Parāntaka seems by nature to have been rather overpowering is known from his political adventures and achievements. His very name indicates this. Perhaps he had the same approach for promoting Śaivism through the employment of the *Devārams*. Of these the *Devārams* of Tirujñānasambandar seems to have been solely responsible for Parāntaka's attitude to life's problems. It is well-known that it was Jñānasambandar that was chiefly responsible for stemming the tide of the heterodox religions expecially Jainism. The hymns of this saint give us a clear idea about his aggressive and uncompromising attitude towards the Jainas and others. In almost all his hymns, with a few exception, the penultimate verse is devoted to the deriding of these people; and the language employed for this purpose in one hymn will be found to be stronger than that of the other. Interestingly enough the verse preceding the above in nearly all the hymns, is devoted to the praise of the Lingodbhava aspect of Śiva which serves a double purpose namely proclaiming the superiority of Śiva to Viṣṇu and Brahmā and glorifying the pillar-of-fire aspect of the Lord.

Having been inspired by the ideals of Jñānasambandar, Parāntaka appears to have sincerely tried to put them into practice; first in the political field where he achieved signal success and then in the religious field where by introducing vigorous Lingodbhava concept in place of the effeminate Ardhanārīśvara concept he not only established a lasting tradition of absorbing interest to the Śaivites but also contributed to the rapid growth of Śaivism. By arranging for the making of images based on the descriptions of various aspects of Śiva contained in the Devārams and using them to decorate the walls of the Śiva temples and by making provision for the recitation of the Devārams in those temples, after a lapse of about three centuries of existence of the immortal hymns of Sambandar, Parāntaka may be said to have made the whole of

Southern India and also Ceylon, reverberate with Tamil Śaivism. It may be said that it was probably during his time that sculptures of the saints Sambandar and Appar came to be made and added to the walls of Śiva temples of which the earliest example may be the Vasiṣṭheśvara temple of Karandai (*vide*, the author's article in *TASSI* for 1956-57). In this as well as in other respects he can be compared only to one emperor of ancient India namely Aśoka. What Aśoka did to propagate Buddhism, after a lapse, again, of about three centuries since the death of the Buddha, Parāntaka I did to Śaivism. Aśoka, too, fought battles during his early years before and after he became emperor. Similar was the case with Parāntaka. Aśoka continued the committee system of administration. The famous Uttiramerūr inscription belonging to the twelfth year of Parāntaka I, which deals with the constitution of executive committees and with the fixing of the method of appointment to those committees[41] speaks eloquently about the committee system of administration of his time. In every one of these respects Parāntaka may be said to have even outshone Aśoka; because he never gave up his *svadharma* i.e. the duties of an emperor of which *digvijaya* is an essential one, while Aśoka not only gave it up but adopted a *sanyāsi's* role which was *paradharma*. The result was that the empire founded by Parāntaka on real power supported by an unshakable faith in the *sanātana dharma* and sincere devotion to the Lord of his family, grew from strength to strength and lasted for nearly 400 years afterwards when it witnessed the contacts with such far-off countries as China, spread Indian culture in South-east Asia, and achieved several valuable things of abiding interest to humanity in general. On the other hand the empire for which Aśoka was heir to, due to the absence of the vital foundational elements mentioned above, disintegrated soon after him and disappeared completely in about half a century.[42] Thus, the extra-ordinary importance of the Ardhanārīśvara sculpture is apparent.

Sadānanda : At the entrance to the *agra-maṇḍapa* of the main shrine on the left side is a three-fourth life-size standing image of a sage-like person (fig. 7). According to local tradition the sage

41. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

42. This may be taken as a telling example of Lord Kṛiṣṇa's warning contained in the line *svadharme nidhanam śreyah paradharmo bhayāvahah. Gītā*, 4.35.

Sadānanda worshipped the Lord at this shrine and that this image represents the sage.

Its sculpture is somewhat flat and slightly disproportionate below the waist. It is shown with *jaṭas* done naturalistically, *vastra-yajñopavīta,* a thick *kaṇṭhi,* a broad waist-band in two courses the lower one falling in a deep loop, *uttarīya* being arranged on the sides in thick cluster with bows, and the lower garment with its hem shown as a thick fold. All these are characteristic of sculptures of the Pallava-Cōḷa transition period. The round face and its features expressive of spiritual wealth, the long ear-lobe, the cross-band ornament of beads on the arms and the supple fingers support this dating. There are two hands, the right hand is held in the *āhūya varada* posture while the left is in the *vyākhyānamudrā.* The treatment of the figure is bold and powerful and is in the direct Pallava traditions. Perhaps it is earlier than even the Ardhanārīśvara examined above. As large sculptures of the sage—nay any sculpture—are not known from other places, this may be said to be a unique example.

Subrahmaṇya: On the corresponding opposite side of the entrance is another standing figure representing a very rare form of Subrahmaṇya. The slenderness of the figure coupled with the *jaṭāmakuṭa* arranged in a tier fashion, the ornateness of the ornaments and dress and the somewhat stiff manner of treatment of the limbs go to make it a specimen belonging perhaps to Rājarāja I's time or to Rājendra I's time. It has also two hands; the right hand holds the *śakti* with its two ends shaped like spear-heads and the left hand holds interestingly enough a *śaṅkha.*

This aspect cannot be precisely identified. Perhaps from *śakti* and *śaṅkha,* it may be said that it represents Deśika-Subrahmaṇya i.e. Subrahmaṇya as teacher. The *śaṅkha* is a symbol for the *Praṇava* or *Om,* the source of all creation, by teaching the significance of which to his father Śiva, Subrahmaṇya became Svāminātha or Gurusvāmi, i.e., the Lord of (his) parent. In all probability it was originally installed in a separate niche or shrine and was meant to be worshipped specially, as its size and workmanship undoubtedly warrant. The reason for the worship of the special form of Subrahmaṇya in this temple where one of Śiva's very significant sports namely the cutting off of a head of Brahmā is given prominence is not obvious. There is also the story that after this event Śiva himself required elucidation of the significance

of the sound *Om* or *Praṇava,* and that he was taught the same by Subrahmaṇya. In order to emphasise this latter event, the Subrahmaṇya image may have been installed in this temple.

Amman Shrine

In the north-west corner of the outer *prākāra* of the Śiva temple is a shrine possessing some interesting features. It now consists of two parts namely the original shrine and a *maṇḍapa* of a later date. It faces south and is now dedicated to the goddess called Maṅgaḷanāyakī; but originally it also seems to have contained a *Śivaliṅga,* i.e. it was another Śiva shrine. This is borne out by the existence of, on the outside of the walls of the original shrine, images of Gaṇeśa and a Naṭeśa on the western side and a Durgā[43] on the eastern side. The head and a few hands of the Durgā are broken and missing. But its size is similar to the size of Durgās usually seen in a Śiva temple. Never does an *amman* shrine which is subsidiary[44] to the Śiva shrine contain images mentioned above. This is enough to show that this shrine was not originally meant to be a temple of the goddess. Moreover the workmanship of the sculpture of Durgā and the architectural details of the shrine is not characteristic of sculptures and temples respectivey belonging to a date later than about 1000 A.D. It is well-known that only from about the time of Rājendra I (1012-1044 A.D.) that Devī shrines came to be built along with the main shrine of the God. So, it is certain that originally this shrine was not a Devī shrine, but only another Śiva shrine. To this assertion there is however the difficulty of the shrine facing south which is rarely the case in Śiva temples. But there are examples of such temples as the one at Āvaḍaiyārkovil, and therefore, till it is proved to the contrary, this temple may be taken to be another example of south-facing Śiva shrine. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has referred to this shrine as follows: "Another *amman* shrine of the time of Rājendra I seems to be referred to in an inscription of his reign from the eastern wall of the Maṅgaḷāmbikā shrine in the Śiva temple at Kaṇḍiyūr (Tanjore district)".[45] But his concluding sentence not only reveals the learned Professor's

43. See *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3 and 4, where it is described and illustrated.

44. *Svayampradhāna* (independent), *amman* shrines may contain on its *pañcakosṭhas,* images of Ganeśa, Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī etc. Even there no Naṭeśa image will be found.

45. *The Cōḷas* (revised edn. 1955), p. 715.

characteristic insight but also clinches the issue. He says that "but a gap in the record considerably obscures its import",[46] which according to us, may relate to the endowments made to some other *amman* shrine and may not refer to the shrine on which the inscription was engraved. It is therefore clear that its use as an *amman* shrine is undoubtedly of a later-day origin.

Gopura of the Temple

The main gopura on the western side has a pair of huge *dvārapālakas* of the type which was in vogue in the 11th century A.D. The mouldings and other details suggest that it probably belonged to the first half of the 11th century. This is borne out by two sculptures. One of them is a Subrahmaṇya[47] of the Brahma-Śāsta variety in early Cōḷa style. More interesting than this is the other figure which represents a Brahmā of the Pitāmaha (grandfather) variety with beard.

Brahmā: The workmanship of this (fig. 8) is the same as that of the sculpture of Subrahmaṇya and therefore, it is of the same age also. Brahmā is seated in the *sukhāsana* posture on a *padmāsana* which is worn out. Of the four hands the upper right hand holds a laddle-like thing, and the lower right hand is broken but there seems to be some traces left of the *akṣamālā*. The upper left hand probably holds a *kuṇḍika* although it is not clear; and the lower left hand is placed on the thigh. There are three faces of which the two on either side are youthful while the front one is bearded. This is a very interesting iconographic detail. For, as a rule Brahmā images of South India do not have beards, bearded-Brahmās, suggesting his being the grand-father of humanity (*Pitāmaha*) being almost exclusively confined to North India. A combination of the two aspects here suggests clearly the influence of North Indian art traditions at the period to which this sculpture belongs. The importance of a similar figure at Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram has recently been made known by C. Sivaramamurti[48] who has also suggested correctly that this was due to North Indian cultural contacts which South India had in the

46. *Ibid.*
47. See for details of this figure, *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3 and 4.
48. *Royal conquests and Migration of art motifs*, (Indian Museum, Calcutta).

wake of Rājendra Cōḷa's *digvijaya*. This image[49] affords another piece of evidence in support of Sivaramamurti's conclusion. The *makuṭa* portion of the head of the figure is broken.

2. *Viṣṇu Temple*

As has been said above, this *kṣetra* is important for the Vaiṣṇavites because it is considered to be one of the 108 Tirupatis and the Lord in the Viṣṇu temple has been sung by the great Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumaṅgai-maṉṉan. This temple has been noticed by us elsewhere.[50] The chief points of interest are the following:

Of the two shrines standing in the centre of the *prākāra*, the Viṣṇu shrine is no doubt original. The other shrine now dedicated to the goddess Lakṣmī seems to have been originally dedicated to some other deity. That it was probably a shrine of Śiva is suggested by the existence of friezes of *bhūta-gaṇas* underneath the *kapota* (cornice) and by the presence among the *bhūta-gaṇas*, in the north-west corner, of a panel showing the worship of *Śiva-liṅga.* It has been shown above that the *amman* shrine in the Śiva temple was originally not meant for the goddess. Similarly in this Viṣṇu temple also the present shrine of the goddess was most probably was not meant for her. That the *koṣṭhas* occurring on the outside of the wall of this shrine, which are now filled up, should have been intended originally for the images of other deities which no longer exist anywhere there, is also an additional point in favour of our hypothesis.

The other interesting feature of this temple is that at the north-west corner of the *prākāra* is a small shrine with a platform in front on which stands two ancient pillars, circular in section, containing near their tops borders carved with beautiful bas-reliefs dipicting scenes from the *Bhāgavata.*

3. *Summary*

The above discussion deals with the following points:

The central shrine of the Śiva temple at Kaṇḍiyūr was probably one of the earliest shrines built during the time of Āditya I (accn. *circa* 870 A.D.).

49. Another image of this type is seen on the northern *koṣṭha* of the first *tala of the* front *gopura* of the Bṛihadiśvara temple at Tanjore. This was noticed recently by Mr. James C. Harle, Christ Church, Oxford.

50. *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3 and 4.

The seated Ardhanārīśvara sculpture found here is one of the earliest of its kind to be used in the *koṣṭha* behind the sanctum; and it was replaced by a Lingodbhava image probably during the time of Parāntaka I.

The small bas-reliefs include scenes from the Śiva-Purāṇa also not usually met with among such sculptures occurring in temples of the period.

There is here a representation of the "tortoise-and-geese" story from the *Pañcatantra* and it may be said to be the only one of its kind known from South India and its early date in the last quarter of the 9th century shows the popularity of the Pañcatantra in these parts even from still earlier periods.

There are the interesting images of Sadānanda, Subrahmaṇya holding a *śaṅkha* in his hand, three Brahmās one of them which occurs in the *gopura* showing a beard and therefore based on North Indian traditions, another Subrahmaṇya of the Brahmaśāsta variety and a rare Durgā not only standing on the buffalo head but also with her vehicle, lion, shown behind her.

The shrine now containing an image of *amman* was probably another Śiva shrine. Similarly the *amman* shrine within the compound of the Viṣṇu temple was originally dedicated to some other deity. And here there are two early pillars containing bas-reliefs representing scenes from Kṛṣṇa-līla.

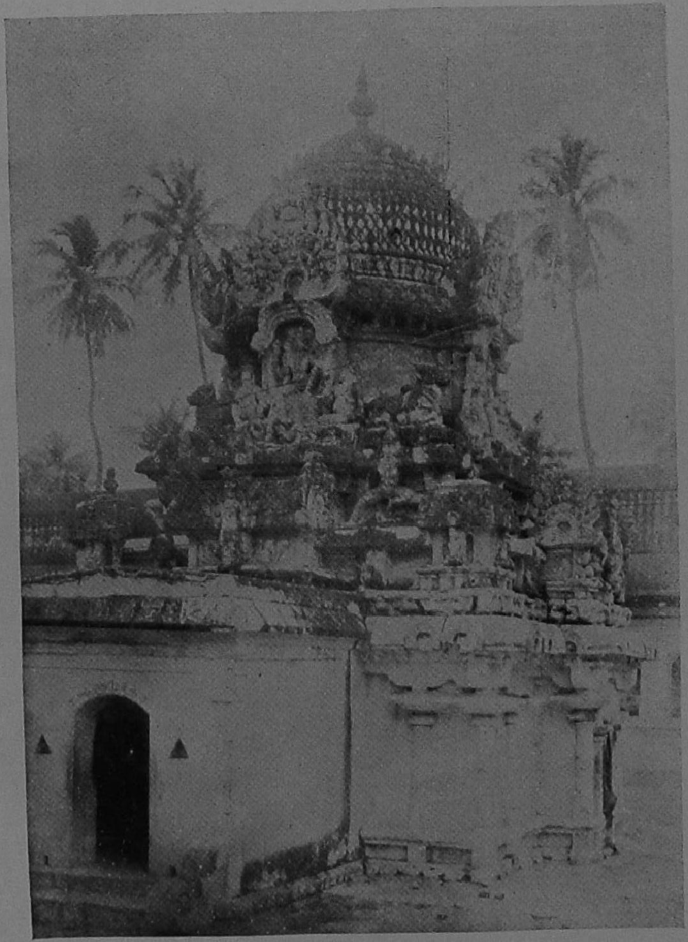

Fig. 1. Central Shrine of the Śiva temple, Kandiyur

Fig. 2. Kalyanasundara; marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī

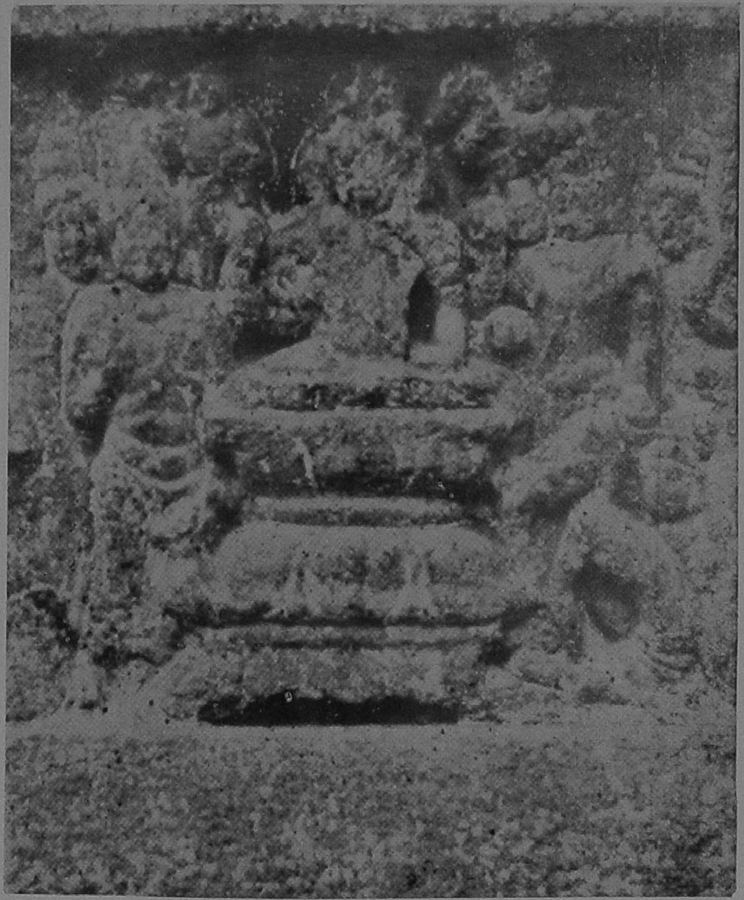

Fig. 3 Brahmā being visited by the devas in Brahmaloka

Fig. 4. Dasaratha distributing *pāyasa*

Fig. 5. Bas-relief sculpture: story of the tortoise and two geese

Fig. 6. Ardhanārīśvara

Fig. 7. Sage Sadānanda who is said to have worshipped the Lord at Kandiyur

Fig. 8. Brahmā

Fig. 9. Brahmā

ARE DRAVIDIANS DYNASTIC EGYPTIANS?*

BY

DR. J. T. CORNELIUS

In a paper entitled the Dravidian question, which I read before this Society on 29th January, 1953, about five years ago, I attempted to identify the Dravidian tribes with ancient Mediterranean tribes known as Pelasgians, Iberians, Liguarians and Etruscans conforming to three types described by Sergi, as Tamahu type$_1$, Tamahu type$_2$, and Lebu type, on the basis of certain totemistic emblems.[1] These three race-types are found to be, as will be shown later, identical with race-types described by A. Moret and G. Davy as ancient Egyptians, Semites and Libyans[2]. In this paper I shall submit confirmatory evidence establishing on a totemistic basis the identity of five Dravidian tribes found in ancient Indian literature, with similar tribes found in ancient Egypt, Palestine and Sumer.

J. G. Frazer in his monumental work on Totemism and Exogamy states, "Evidence seems to justify us in inferring that one time or another Totemism and Exogamy have been practised by all branches of this numerous ancient people (the Dravidians). It appears doubtful whether Totemism proper is practised by any race of India, except the Dravidians. He further refers to cross-cousin marriages in Dravidian society, which he states divide the community into two exogamous moieties, or classes by which the children of a brother and the children of a sister necessarily belong to two different exogamous classes, and are therefore proper mates for each other".[3]

Descent in respect of the totem, Moret and Davy state, may be reckoned in three distinct ways. It may be uterine; the child takes from his mother the totem which is transmitted to him

* A paper submitted to the Archaeological Society of South India, 17th December 1957.

1. J. T. Cornelius, "The Dravidian Question", *Tamil Culture,* Vol. III No. II. April 1954. pp. 92-102.
2. A. Moret and G. Davy, *From Tribe to Empire*, pp. 167-169.
3. J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy,* Vol. II, p. 329.

automatically by heredity. (2) It may be patrilinear; the child takes the totem from his father. (3) It may be finally local. The child then has for totem that, by influence of which his mother is believed to have conceived it. This is known as conceptual totemism, which is a theory of Conception and Relationship.[4]

A. Moret observes that as the clans become sedentary, the marriage customs change, "being attached to soil, man no longer goes out of the clan to look for a wife. Exogamy is succeeded by Endogamy. Osiris marries his sister Isis. The Consanguine marriage becomes sacred and continued to be a feature of Egyptian manners. The institution of marriage marks the evolution of society, from the Uterine system in which each woman of the clan believes herself impregnated by the totem and to the paternal system in which husband is true father".[5]

In cross-cousin marriage of Dravidian communities we find identical social organisation as that of the ancient Egyptian system in respect of Exogamy. As regards totemism, Frazer states that it is an identification of a man with his totem, which has been an animal or plant or what not, and remarks that this system is thoroughly democratic—later on totems have become objects of worship.

In the beginning, social facts are not always recorded, for writing did not exist to yield explicit evidence. Still there are, as stated by Moret and Davy, paintings on clay vases, and on walls of tombs, certain ethnic emblems, which are clan-ensigns (Fig. 1) consist-

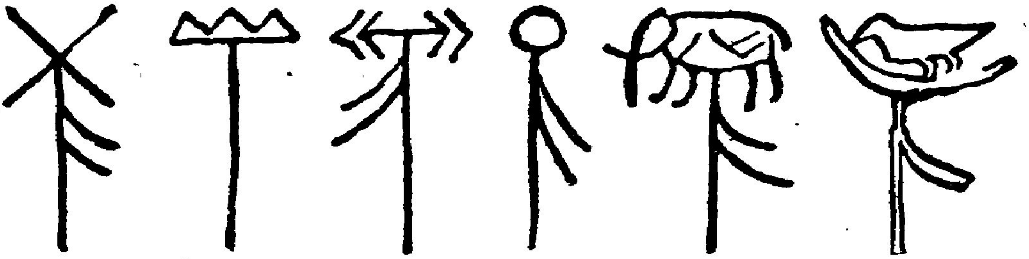

Fig. 1. Clan-Ensigns in Egypt

ing of the Falcon, an Elephant, a Solar disc, fish, crossed-arrows, or mountains. These ensigns were in use down to the close of pharaonic civilization as names of provinces or nomes.

4. A. Moret and G. Davy, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
5. A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilisation*, p. 95.
6. A. Moret and G. Davy *op. cit.*, p. 123.

These prehistoric totems are clan-ensigns which thus acquire a social meaning from the earliest times and could be used for identifying and classifying related tribes or clans, as well as Gods, and places of settlements, where literary evidences are lacking. I shall adopt this method of approach in this study.

Although agriculture as a food producing organisation may have started in Asia Minor, the earliest agricultural civilisation reached its peak of development on the banks of the Nile. These clan-ensigns are related to the evolution of this civilisation in Egypt.

The five ancient clans have different names in different periods and in different literatures, but have identical totems or clan-ensigns as detailed in the table on pp. 92-93.

Comments

Clan Ensign: (1) Thunderbolt or Egyptian 'Min' God. His seat was in Memphis. He was also known as Phtah, Lord of Gold Smithy. His emblem was a rat, as a creator God in Egypt. His Dravidian equivalent is Ai-yanar. Shasta Shos = Shepherd. Arian is one of his names. His emblem is shepherd's crook. His seat is in Western Ghats. Aiyanar is also known as Ayyappan in Trivancore, Ram is the occupational totem of this clan as they were a clan of shepherds. The Vedic name of this God is Agni. Gold is Agni's *seed.* Ayogava is the Vedic name of this clan. Their animal totem was *Horse* or *Ass.*

(2) The clan ensign is Falcon. The Egyptian God of this clan was Bisu or buffalo God or cow God. Nut: His emblem was Bucranium and his Egyptian name was Zam or Danda (Kol). The Dravidian equivalent is Vishnu derived from Bis-Nu. The identifying emblem is Falcon or Garuda, and also Dandam or Tandam, used as a churning rod, which became the Sceptre of this clan. Dendera in Egypt and Tondaimandalam in South India are their chief seats. The Dravidian equivalent of Zam is Yama or God of Death, also known as Dharma Raja. This clan is the cattle-herd clan. Garuda is the clan-ensign.

(3) The clan ensign is solar Disc and the Egyptian God representing this is known as 'On' or "An" representing the mid-day sun in Heliopolis. The Dravidian equivalent of Solar God of Egypt is known as 'On' or 'An', 'An-U-Rupa' (Siva) derived from

I Identification Table based on Clan-Ensings of 3000 B.C. (Moret)

Earliest Tamil Literature[7]	Padma Purana[8]	Vedic period[9]	Palestine	Ancient Egyptian tribes[10]	Occupational Totems	Clan Ensign	Asiatic types	Drav. Tribe
1. Ai or Hida	Ai	Ayo-gava (Av-yanga)	Gazri (Gezer)	Libu (Mazoi) XII Dynasty Thaban	Ram Amon God Sceptre	Thunder-bolt (Min) Agni (Gold)	Assyrian (Ram)	Kalabhra or Kurum-bas Kallar
2. Cenni or Elini	Kui	Mishada	Gimti (Gath)	Mashau-asha (Theban) III & XII Dynasty	Buffalo or cow (Lion)	Falson or Garuda Yama or Snake	Baby-lonian (Buffalo)	Chola (Kanarese) & Telugu Nagas
3. Katti	Saru (Tchar)	Chandala	Kilti (Keilah) Phoeni-cian Megiddo	Tehenu (Desert) (type) IX & X Dynasty (Helio-polis)	Palmtree or Vine (Nar t) Bull or Crocodile	Solar Disc. 'An' (Siva) Lingam or Rudra	Hittite (Chariot) Bull Anus (Suntin)	Cheras or Karalans Pallavas

4. Sentan	Rui (Ka)	Paul-kasa	Rubuti (Gaza) Cannan	Men (Remty) (Ancient Egyptian) (Thinite) I & II Dynasty (Hiera-kongolis		Bull Mountain (Dog- God) Anubis-Set or Seyon, Bhairava,	Sumerian, Mountain, Men, Fish, Peacock	Pandya (Naikars)
5. Alici or Ici	Sua (sa)	Paul-kasa	Philistian Urusalim (Jerusa-lem) Philistia	Remtu or Tumare Ancient Egyptian (Elephan-tine) V & VI Dynasty	Papyrus Reed (Sut) Eye, knot, or Scythe	Scorpion Elephant Horus Pillar (Red God) or Indiran (pearl) Murugan	Dog (sua), Sumerian, (Su) River	Pillais (Tamils)

7. H. S. David, *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV. No. I. January 1955 pp. 92 and 93.
8. S. K. Ray, *Pre-historic India and Ancient Egypt*, p. 8.
9. G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Class in India*, p. 52.
10. M. Venkataratnam, *Rama, the Greatest Pharoah of Egypt*, Vol. I. pp.274 and 275. fn. 1.

'An' or 'On' meaning Sun. This is the ancient name of God Siva. The name of this clan was Anus, deriving his name from 'An' meaning Sun. The chief occupation was carpentry, making boats and chariots and also wine making. Their seat was Syria in Asia Minor and Western Coast of South India. Lingam is a form of obelisk of the Solar Cult of ancient Egypt. Their animal totem was the Bull.

(4) The clan ensign is a three-peaked emblem standing for mountain and which is represented in Egypt by a God called Seth or Anubis or Dog-God or Red God, or a two peaked emblem for serpent. The Dravidian equivalent is Bai-ra-va and whose vehicle is a dog. Snake and bee are the occupational emblems of these clans. Their seat was in Buto in Egyptian Delta. The Tamil equivalent of this God is known as Murugan or Seyon or Red God and Anil is another name for Murugan according to Father Heras,[11] which in my opinion is identical with Anubis, the dog-god of ancient Egypt, as it has the same linguistic root 'Anu' + il = Anil. This clan sign is represented by a three-peaked emblem. The city deriving the name from this clan-ensign is 'Tiru-chira-p-palli, the ancient seat of the crucible process of making cast steel in South India. The town Woriyur (Utai-ur) near Tiruchirapalli is identical with Buto (B uto), having the same linguistic root Uto = 'to blow'.

The totem Bee is that of a clan whose occupation of honey gathering from flowers of a plant named *Strobilanthus* in central provinces called Baigas, who celebrate the 'Bee' festival in Chota Nagpur described by Verrier Elwin.[12] P. L. Swamy states that the word Kurinjee for the hill region in Tamil is the name of the flower of the plant *Strobilanthus*. The flower of the shrub Amhere gives a great deal of honey. There is a town called Thenee (தேனீ) near Madurai taking its name from the honey bee. Teni is the capital of Ta-ur the VIII Nome and of Thinite Dynasty in upper Egypt. One of the three titles of the King of Buto is Bee or Bit meaning, "Him of the Bee",[13] Nsut Biti and Nebti were the titles of King QA_2. The story of Bhringisa in Indian legend which originated the hermaphrodite form of Ardhanari of Siva

11. H. Heras, Problem of Ganapati, *Tamil Culture*, Vol. III No. 2 April 1954, p. 169.
12. P. L. Samy, *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV No. 2, April 1955, pp. 136 and 137.
13. A. Moret *op. cit.* p. 121.

is related to 'Bee', the totem of Pandyas. The three-peaked mountain is their clan ensign, and their ancient seats are Tiruchirapalli and Madurai in South India. The name of this clan in Palestine is Amorite.

(5) The clan ensign is elephant: Miss A. Getty in her monograph on Ganesa states that elephant is probably a totem of a Dravidian tribe.[14] The totem elephant was not only a clan ensign but it also stood for a nome in upper Egypt named Elephantine, with its capital 'Abu' a city of elephants. In mythology elephant totem stood for the water of the sky (rain) and of the earth (river). This totem is significantly connected with the foundation of a new dynasty in ancient Egypt which came into existence about 2540 B.C. known as the Elephantine Dynasty. Moret writes, "According to Manetho the V dynasty came from Elephantine or Sakhebu near Memphis. In any case there is a breach between the 'Pharaohs' of the IV Dynasty and V. According to the Turin Papyrus, this split comes in the reign of Kakai. Now this is the Pharaoh who just assumed a solar coronation name. Here we are helped by popular tradition, which we have in a version of the XIII Dynasty. According to the story the first kings of the V Dynasty Userkaf, Sahura and Neferirkdra—Kakai were usurpers, the sons of the wife of a priest of Ra, Lord of Sakhebu, their true father being no less than Ra himself. The God had announced that these three children "would fill this beneficient office (the kingship) in this Whole Land". Ra himself watched over the child bed of the mother and the birth of the three, and each was born with the appearance of "a lusty boy, with limbs of Gold", already marked with the colour of the Sun. Moret remarks that such legends are often the remnant of historical tradition, true, but distorted".[15]

In this connection I would refer to the text partly quoted from the Svetasvatara Upanishad by Heras. "God is the witness of the generation of his son who is a seer of golden colour and nourishes him with wisdom".

"This generation of the golden son is the cause of great enjoyment in the Father. The father is named Bhokta, 'the one who

14. Miss A. Getty, *Ganesa*, (a monograph on the elephant faced God), p. I.

15. A. Moret *op. cit.*, pp. 156 and 157.

enjoys and the son is called Bhogyan, the enjoyed one'.[16] Bhogi is another name for Indra.[17] W. J. Perry says that in the epic literature of India the children of the sun were born through a process of theogamy by which the Sun God can interfere on earth and produce children of mortal mothers. These men are semi-divine incarnate Gods and some of these God-born men can found dynasties and become also war Gods and he writes that it is well-known that this happened at the beginning of V dynasty. Prior to that the Sun Cult was not the state cult of Egypt, and the kings were more closely connected with Osiris. Perry mentions that a noteworthy example of theogamy is that of Kunti or Pritha, a maiden of royal birth, who by the Sun became the mother of Karna (Vasusena), the brother of Arjuna, the son of Indra. He was born encased in natural armour and with face brightened with earrings and he was referred to as the destroyer of hostile hosts.[18] This encasement in natural armour of Karna obviously refers to the birth of the Elephantine dynasty. As Karna means the Elephant faced or eared God or Pillaiyar as the founder of the Elephantine dynasty in ancient Egypt. In Tamil, Kar-i (கரி) or Karna (Ear) means an elephant. Karna is therefore identical with Kumara or Horus, son of Isis.

This may also be regarded as an instance of what is called Conceptual totemism, when a totem animal, the elephant is incarnated as a human being in the form of Pillaiyar to found the Elephantine Dynasty. There is a tradition that in ancient times the coronation waters were poured over the king by a she elephant. A fine representation of Samanya Lakshmi or Indra Lakshmi in which the coronation ceremony is performed may be seen in the Seven Pagodas in Mahabalipuram.

The South Indian counterpart of the Island Elephantine is Pothigai near the present Courtallam in Tinnevelly Dist. from which the river Tamraparni takes its origin. The word Pothigay means a place of forest of Elephants: போதகம் in Tamil means an elephant. Here the Tamraparni is the counter part of the river Nile. Pothigay is the seat of Tamil muni or Sage. It is for this reason Pillaiyar came to stand for wisdom. Murray writes of

16. Heras *op. cit.*, p. 155-156.
17. P. T. S. Aiyangar, *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, p. 27.
18. W. J. Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, p. 165-166.

King Sahu-Re a fifth Elephantine dynasty Pharaoh, as one who knows the desire of all his retinue because he is more noble than any God. There was during his time also a spread of education and papyrus began to be used for correspondence and accounts, and at the same time there was a great rise of priestly power.[19] Sahu-Re has become deified as the Eye of Horus.

The Elephant

Elephant has played a big part in Indian mythology not only as a totem but also as a War-God, Rain-God, and as a Support-God. Heras quotes a statement attributed to Manu. "Sambu (Siva) is the God of the Brahmins while Ganesa is the God of the Sudrás".[20]

Miss Getty states that the Elephant has probably the totem of a Dravidian tribe. The Dravidian tribe known as Nagas or Gajas or Kasas *certainly had an Elephant as their totem*, writes Heras.[21] It is well established that Nagas are a Dravidian tribe and they derive their name not only from Naga meaning a Serpent but also from Nākam (நாகம்) meaning an Elephant in Tamil. There are over 45 names for the Elephant noted by Varadaraja Aiyar and found in the old Tamil poetical lexicon.[22] The extraordinary way in which different parts of the anatomy of the elephant have become themes of legendary quotations in ancient Tamil literature is another proof of its totemic significance to the Tamils. Its totemic significance lies in the tusk of the Elephant which is also known as Maruppu. Mr. Varadaraja Aiyar refers to the belief of the Tamils as mentioned in quotations from Tamil classics (Puram) that pearls were obtained from the tusks of elephants. It is because of this belief that elephant was considered a Totem animal by the Tamils. Pearl was an amulet possessed of magical powers for conquering enemies, disease and bestowing long life and prosperity, and as the amulet born from Vritra (the cloud) and from Soma, the moon it was considered sacred. (W. J. Perry).[23] This belief is exactly the same as that of the ancient Egyptians regarding Pearl as an amulet. The Sanskrit word Marut is no doubt the same as Maruppu, the Tamil word for the tusk of the Elephant, the seat of Pearls and also the Vedic 'Dantin' a name for 'Ganapati' referred to in the

19. M. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
20 and 21. H. Heras, *Tamil Culture*, Vol. III No. 2 April 1954, p. 179.
22. Varadaraja Aiyar, E. S. *The Elephant in the Tamil Nad*, p. 2.
23. W. J. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

Taittiriya Aranyaka.[24] In Tamil, Tanti (தந்தி) also means an elephant.[25] Heras refers to the feast of the elephant (Matti-Maha) celebrated in Ancient India. He writes: "The four genii who were supposed to support the heavens had the shape of elephants, creatures of great strength. These four dig-gajas were probably at a later period identified with the four Vinayakas or demons who created obstacles.... In a place called Gatiyala, 22 miles north of Jodhpur there is a column on whose top there are four images of Ganapati facing the four quarters of the Earth ...... The four so-called Ganapatis are therefore four dig-

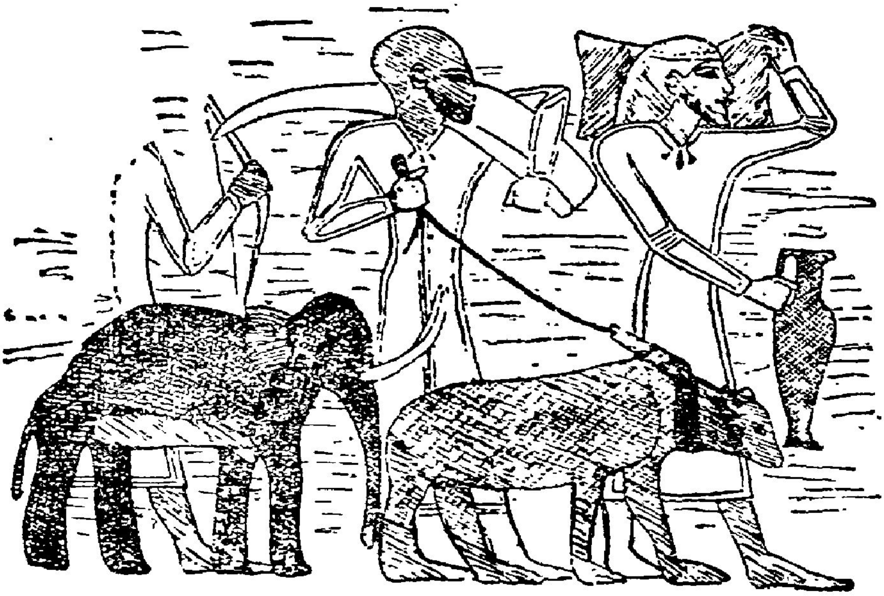

Fig. 2. Cannites and their Tribute

gajas and the four Vinayakas".[26] In a foot-note Heras states that although the inscription in the column refers to 862 A.D., the invocation inscribed to Vinayaka may in tradition embody an earlier idea. I have already referred to the invention of four columns to uphold the sky, described by G. Maspero, and the definition of God by the Berbers as "He who supports the Heavens"[27] and the elephant as "support to the sky" is represented in the Mahabalipuram Great Rock panel. The four supports are the four massive pillar-like legs of elephants. Heras states "Puranian literature of a

24. H. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 178
25. Varadaraja Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
26. H. Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 202 & *fn.* 260.
27. J. T. Cornelius—*Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV No. 3 July 1955. 'The Dravidian Question Answered', p. 268.

much later period explains that the group of four Vinayakas was merged into one definite God whom Rudra (Seyon or Murugan) constituted the "Leader of the Ganas, Ganapati". Heras thinks that this Ganapati was endowed with the elephantine face as in the later icons. According to him this is the origin of Ganesa—the elephant-faced God and he considers him as the product of the activity of Gajas, the Naga tribe of ancient India whose totem he was. The two basic facts that make the elephant sacred either as Vinayaka or Ganapati in the Tamil land in common with the ancient Egyptians are (1) the tusk of the elephant as a source of pearls, as an amulet which possessed extra-ordinary magical powers and life-giving properties and (2) the massive pillar-like legs of the elephant as supports to the sky, which formed a cardinal belief in the sky religion of the Libyans described by G. Maspero.

The Eye Emblem

An epithet of Indra is thousand-eyed. The eye-emblem is connected with the Osirian cult. Margaret Murray states that the very name of Osiris is written with the throne, and the eye[28] reading Us-Yri means the occupier of the throne, and shows him as Pharaoh. She also writes that the eye of Horus is a synonym for food. Moret and Davy refer to a hymn among the Pyramid Texts (IV Dynasty) which is addressed to the creator of the World, Tum, and to Pharaoh-Horus, and refer to the creation of Pharaoh-Horus by the mystic name of the Eye of Horus. In pasing I would point out that the word 'Tum' the creator God, is the prefix in the word Tamil, the original Egyptian word being Tum-Ra from which it is derived. The river Tam-ra-parni is identical with the Egyptian Tum-Ra. Ra has become substituted for 'La' in Tamil and has become Tum-La Tamil, the name of the Tamil clan.

(The King) is the God Sa (knowledge)—whose eyes see into every breast.[29] He is the Great of Seeing = (Kaṇṇan).

Sachi the wife of Indra according to Hemadri[30] is seated on the left thigh of Indra. This name Sachi may be split into two components. So-Akashi which would mean the Eye of 'Sa' who may

28. M. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 165 (fig. 5).
29. A. Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 288.
30. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 241.

be identified with 'Ra' and with the deified King Sahu-Re. Another Eye-emblemed goddess is Meenakshi, the Goddess of the famous temple in Madurai. Sachi may then be identified as the 'Eye of 'Ra' or 'Horus' in Indian iconography. The seat of the Eye-cult is Canopus, a sea-port in Western Egyptian Delta. The Tamil equivalent will be Kannan (கண்ணன்) or Kumara. Heras refers to his earliest representation and earliest dedication of a separate temple to him at Kannanur, (old Pudukkottai State) which belongs to the early Chola period.[31] There is also a legend in which the low caste Kannappa tears away his 'eyes' and presents them to Siva!

The 'eye' in the Osirian cult is connected with the origin of the Nile, as the river was supposed to be formed out of the tears of the two weeping sisters—Isis and Nephthys, and the foundation of the Elephantine Dynasty under the 'Eye'-witness of 'Ra'.

Rendel Harris states that Auhut (Auhit) is the female counterpart of Un Nefer and mother of Horus and that Egyptian verb 'auh' means to inundate or flood, and 'aut' U means to lament, and identifies Auhut the Goddess as the female counter-part of *Osiris*, that is Isis.[32]

The Egyptian verb *Auhu* to lament is identical with (அழு) to cry in Tamil, and the name of the Tamil Chief Alici is derived from the same word.

The name of the Nile in Egypt is derived also from *'Ialo'* in the Copitic according to G. Maspero; he writes, "the bulk of its (*Nile*) waters ...... constitutes the true Nile, the great river of the *Heiroglyplic* inscriptions. "Iatur-au, Iaur-au which becomes Iar-o, Ialo in the coptic ...... The word Phiala — is only this name *Ialo*, preceded by the masculine article, phi-ph".[33]

The place where the Nile was believed by the ancient Egyptians, to rise was situated in the first cataract between two mountains, near the islands of Elephantine and the island of *Philae*.

The elephant and *Philae* are thus connected with the river-cult of Osiris. Thus the names *Philae*, *Philistia* or Canaan for Palestine and the clan name பிள்ளை Pillai and the name of the elephant faced-God Pillaiyar can be traced to be linguistically

31. H. Heras, *Tamil Culture*, Vol. II, April 1954, p. 175.
32. Rendal Harris, *The Migration of Culture*, p. 15.
33. G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 6 *fn*.

connected with the word அழு or *aluh* to cry in Tamil. It is for this reason also the eye-emblem is associated with the throne standing for Osiris, the Egyptian God of Agriculture.

Reed: Papyrus reed was the emblem of the North, and it is a sacred plant. One of the two seated Gods is seen wearing a cluster of papyrus plants on his head in the shrine in the first cataract between the two mountains, near the island of Elephantine and the island of Philae, from which the ancient Egyptian thought the *Nile* arose. In the Egyptian Osirian cult the *'Zed'* pillar represents Osiris and the *'Knot'*, Isis the Goddess.[34]. The granite *'Zed'* pillar has four capitals arranged one above the other, according to Egyptian perspective erected in the temple at *Hieraconpolis* constructed by king *Khasekhemui* of the II Thinite Dynasty.[35]

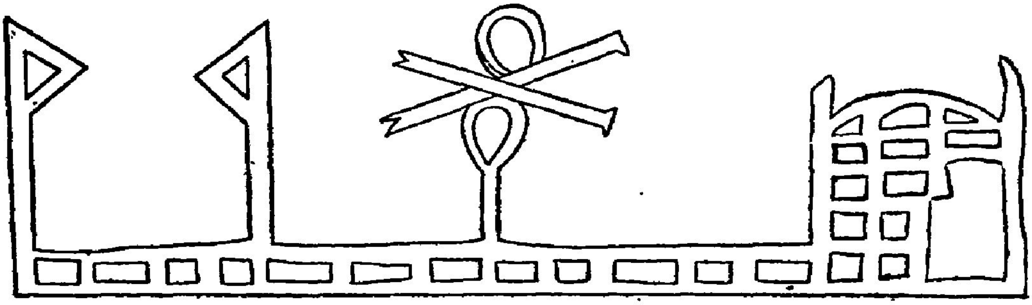

Fig. 3. Knot of Isis

The third title "he who belongs to the plant sut" is one of the titles of the pharaoh which signifies the title 'nsut' and belonged to the lord of a district to the south of the Delta, or near *Heracleopolis.* This refers to a Reed (Papyrus).[36, 37]

The so-called musical pillars in the Northern Tower in the Madurai temple, in my opinion, represent the *'Zed'* pillar of the ancient Egyptians. The capital of the pillars is known as the *Bulbous* Capital. G. J. Dubreuil in his book 'Dravidian Architecture' describes it as being made up of in Tamil கால் (stem) பத்மபந்தம், கலசம், தாடி, குடம், இதழ், முனைபலகை, கண்டம்.

The *Bulbous* capital represents the *'Zed'* pillar in the Osirian cult.

34. 35. A Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
36, 37. *Ibid.*, p. 121 & fn. I.

Margaret Murray writes, "to make a pillar the ancient Egyptian lashed together several bundles of the *Reeds* tying them firmly with several turns of cord just below the heads (குடம்) and again at the root ends (பத்மபந்தம்). To keep the cord taut

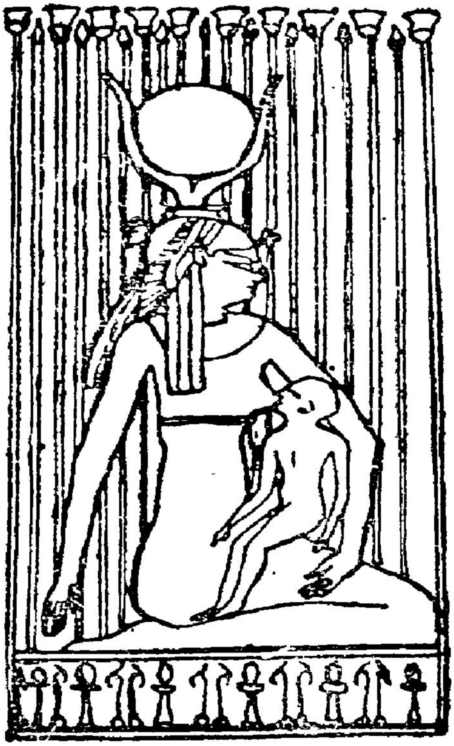

Fig. 4. Isis suckling her son Horus in the Papyrus beds of Chemmis

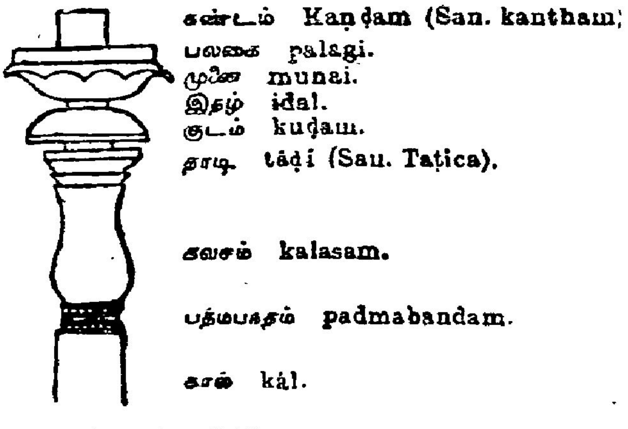

Fig. 5. Different parts of a capital.

he pushed in a short length of papyrus stem between each bundle. He then made a base of solid clay into which he pushed the root ends of its Reed Bundles, so deep that the lashing cord was

covered and the pillar stood upright. He tied the mop-like heads together at the top (சூடு) and then covered the whole structure with clay from the tied tops of the flowering heads down to the clay-base. He would probably make two or three pillars in a row and would lay across their tops a lashed bundle of papyrus stems or a plank (பலகை) and add a light thatch of palm (முளை) and (இதழ்) (Fig. 5). She goes on to state that when stone building became possible the weight of the clay and super structure caused the Papyrus stems to bend a little outwards......which took on a general curve outwards slightly overhanging the lashing. The Egyptian architect, copied the curves and the visible lashing with the utmost fidelity".[38]

The '*Zed*' pillar was made of granite, and "the musical pillars" of the Madurai Temple were also carved out of one single block of granite.

Musical pillars in the Mudurai Temple

We thus find complete identity of the '*Zed*' pillar representing the Papyrus Reed, so sacred to the ancient Egyptian, and the musical pillars with the *Bulbous* capital which is characteristic of Pandyan architecture in the archaeology of South Indian monuments. It should be noted that all the components of the Papyrus Reed-column mentioned by Dr. Murray are found represented point to point, in the *Bulbous* Capital described by J. G. Dubreuil

K. R. Venkataraman writing on the cave temple Kudimiya malai mentions that the pillars of this cave temple have bulbous capitals resting upon square-bases, and the corbels are flattened though provided with roll ornaments with a medium band; he adds this style is absolutely different from the Mahendravarman style.[39]

One can easily identify the three Egyptian figures, with the type of *Bulbous* Capital of Dubreuil, and the musical pillars in Madurai.

Fig. 3. [40]Represents the *Zed* pillar, the oldest Egyptian form in the temple at *Hieraconpolis*, called the Pillar of Horus and Seth, connected with the Knot of Isis, another Osirian emblem.

38. Margaret A. Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt*—pp. 227 to 228.
39. K. R. Venkataraman, "A note on the Sittannavasal and Kudumia malai Monuments", Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, 1956-1957, p. 89.
40. A. Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 80 (fig. 21) and fn. 2.

Fig. 4. [41]This figure shows Isis suckling the son Horus in the Papyrus beds of Chemmis.

Fig. 5. [42]Illustrates Dubreuil's description of the Bulbous capital in Dravidian architecture.

Plate at the end. 'The musical pillars' near the Northern Tower of Madurai Temple in South India are shown here.

The Identification of the Zed-pillar of the 2nd dynasty with the musical pillars of Madurai Temple establishes a basic link of the Dynastic Egyptians with the Tamil Pandyans of South India. Papyrus Reed Column is a classical emblem of the North in Egypt. The Tamil word (சித்தர்) Siddha is linguistically derived from the Egyptian word '*Zed*' meaning the Horus-Seth Column. H. K. Sastri describes a female deity connected with the images of Lakshmi-Narayana, named Siddhi with a fly whisk in her hand.[43] The fly-whisk is identical with the Ox-herd whip of the Egyptian Regalia of the Kings of the North, along with Aruval (Scythe) which was called their Royal weapon (Khepesh).[44]

The crossed arrows and the *Knot of Isis* maybe seen in the earliest Lattice shrine of Anubis and Neith (Fig. 3). The 'Noose' in the hand of Visa-lakshi (Broadeyed) or Annapurna is the 'knot' of *Isis*, a magical Osirian emblem associated with the Horus-Seth;—'*Zed*' Column.

The Race Types

Indisputable data from various sources have been brought forward to identify the five Dravidian tribes with the ancient Egyptian tribes. It is now possible to describe the Race types found on the monuments of the Thinite and the Memphite periods of Egyptian History.

Moret and Davy recognise four tpyes, Egyptians, Libyans, Semites and Negroes and consider the first two as belonging to the Hamitic Race. They affirm that these types are fundamentally different from the African Negroes.

41. A. Moret, *Ibid*, 99 (fig. 24).
42. Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture.*
43. H. K. Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 52.
44. Moret and Davy, *op. cit.*, 131, fig. 4.

Type I[45] : The ancient Egyptians were called Men (remtu) : Here 'men' means Moon, and 'remtu' = tum-re = tum-la or Tamil as I pointed out above. These people occupied the Delta. As depicted in the monuments, they are oval-faced with prominent Cheek-bones, deep-set eyes, short, straight, or slightly acquiline nose, reddish brown in colour. The hair black and not curly. The beard rather scanty. The ordinary costume for men is a loin cloth—Tamahu Type-I (Sergi).

Type II Libu: On the Western oasis dwelt the Libu or Libyans and also in Nubia. They were tall and strong and more muscular than the ancient Egyptian Type I. The plaited-hair falls in a tress over one shoulder. This dress is a loin cloth, but sometime they wore a woolen robe, gaudy, and patterned. (Libu Type III).

Type III Tehenu: Beyond the Libyans were found the Tehenu in Marmarica. They are a dessert brachycephalic type. Semites (Tamahu Type-II).

Identification of Dravidian Clans: (Vide (Table II).

1. *Banars* (பாணர்) were traders in Vedic times derived from banik meaning a merchant. They were Dasyus and will not pay dakshina to the performance of Aryan rites.[46] The Sanskrit word is 'Banasura' and is identical with 'bani' in the name of the Assyrian King Asur-bani-pal, according to the Encyclopaedia Biblica.[47] Their ancient seat in Tamilnad was Banavaram Sholingar in North Arcot District. The modern representatives are Kallars. The Asiatic type was known as Mentiu.

2. *Tiraiyar*: The Tiraiyar Kings ruled Tondainad. Encyclopaedia Biblica refers to an Egyptian King named Tirhakah who attempted to throw off the yoke of Asur-bani-pal. The modern representatives are Chettis. Their Asiatic representatives were called Settiu (Moret & Davy).

3. *Munaiyar*: Their seat was Munaipadi and it was a great Saivite centre. It was also called Amur near Madras.[48]

45. Moret & Davy, *op. cit.*, p. 167, fig. and also pp. 143-145.
46. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, p. 80.
47. *Encyclopaedia Biblica Art*, 'Philistines', Para 14 quoted by M. Venkataratnam—*Rama, The Greatest Pharaoh of Egypt*, Volume 1, p. 139.
48. R. P. Sethu Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

The totem of the clan is the Crocodile (Makara) and the Egyptian God was called 'Sebek'.

TABLE II

II. Regal or divine or dynastic totems of tribes. Identification

Egyptian	Dravidian Equivalent Totems	Ancient Dravidian Clans I	Historical Names
1. Sphinx (Chephren) (Memphite Shepherd King) Amon-Ra (Thebes)	Ass or Horse Amon (God) City of Sceptre	Banar[49] (பாணர்) (Lion King) Daksha (Ram)	Hiskos Kallar or Kalabhras (Kurumbas) Rakshas
2. (a) Sphinx (Bes-Nu) Ra- Kings Tosorthrus, III Dyn (b) Wazet (King)	Garuda (Hawk) or Falcon Vishnu (God) Rama Serpent	Tiraiyar[50] (திரையர்) Garuda Lion King Nagas (Arjuna)	Cholas (Canareese) Kuravas or Kauravas குறவர் Telugu
3. Crocodile (Sebek) God Khati IX Dynasty	Makara (Crocodile) or Bull, Siva God	Munaiyar (Punt) (முனையர்)[51]	Cheras (Pallavas) (Malayalam) Anus
4. (a) Ka-Kan (King) IInd dynasty Apis (Bull) Rek-Mara XVIII Dyn. (b) Elephant (Elephantine Sahura-Vth Dynasty) Osiris Khasekhamui (Horus-Set) II Dyn.	Peacock Karthikeya or Velan Bull (Nandi) Gaja or Kasa (Elephant) Ganesa (God) Agastya	Malluvar[51a] Aviyar (மழவர்) Ka—Aruvar அருவர் Sa—Mutha- raiyar முத்தரையர்	Pandyas or Naickar Aruvar Vellalar (Tamil)

God Siva wears a Crocodile 'ear ornament' and also the Sun-God. (Surya). There are 3 tribes the Amu, the Mentiu, and the

49-51a. R. P. Sethu Pillai, "Tamilagam", *Oorum Perum*, 91-94.

Sentiu who are described as truely Asiatic by Moret and Davy. They lived along the Isthmus of Suez and in the Peninsula of Sinai.[52] They were nomadic and sedantary tribes. The Munaiyar (Isthumus people) .can thus be identified with the 'Amu' tribe. Munai-padi was also called 'Amur', their route of access to Egypt was known as Wady-Magarah (Crocodile). The Para-devars of South India belong to this clan.

The Serpent: The serpent clan in ancient Tamil Nad was called Nagar (நாகர்). The Nagars were a prosperous, wealthy, civilized tribe. Their ancient seats were Nagapattinam and Nagarkoil. They were also known as Koravars (குறவர்). There are statues to this tribe in the great Meenakshi Temple in Madurai. The Serpent-Goddess is called Nagamata or Tavita or 'Manasa', similar to the Goddess of the Scythians.[53] There is a Nagamalai within 3 or 4 miles of Madurai City. The Snake Demon in the Hill was said to have been destroyed by Siva. Nagapanchami is a great festival observed even at the present time. Manasa the Snake-Goddess was a daughter of Siva who was the queen of the Nagas. The ancient serpent-Goddess of the Egyptian was called Wazet, and in the form of Uraeus, it was worn as a protecting emblem, of the Kings of the North and its ancient seat was Buto or (B + uto).[54]

Besides the Royal emblem, there were two other emblems of the Kings of that Delta to which I shall refer below, namely the Aruval and the pearl.

The Elephant: Egypt was first governed by two Royal families, Kings of the North (Bitui) at Buto and the Kings of the South (Nsutu) at Nekheb, according to Moret. These were known as Thinite Kings. The Bee (bit) symbolized royalty and the King at Buto was called 'Him' of the Bee! and Nsut meant "He who belongs to the plant Sut".

The Plant 'Sut' refers to Papyrus and to lilies & lotuses. Regionally the Papyrus stood for the North country and the Lotus for South Country. The Union of these two countries was celebrated at the coronation ceremonies of Kha Nsut King of the South, and Kha biti, the King of the North, and Sma Taui, the union

52. A. Moret & G. Davy, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
53. H. K. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
54. A. Maret, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

of the two lands. At this ceremony, the King was presented with a Sma pillar with a cleft top round which were wound Papyri of the North and the lilies or lotuses of the South symbolising the two lands taui.[55] Sama taui meant the Union of two lands. The same ceremony is represented in a panel in the Seven Pagodas in Mahabalipuram known as Samanya-Lakshmi.[56] The Sma pillar was their sceptre, Semmaiyanakol or Senkol in Tamil.

In this representation the three pillars with a cleft top, representing Sma pillar of Ancient Egypt and the Lotus on which Lakshmi is seated, mean the Sma taui ceremony at Coronation of the Thinite Kings. The name of the King of the South, Nsut appears in the Indian Panel as Sri — Su-K-ta, who praises Lakshmi who has been displaced in the Pallava Architecture. The two elephants symbolise the 5th Elephantine Dynasty which was founded by King Sahu-Re about 2600 B.C. Near the Mottaigopuram are five pillars called the "Musical Pillars" in Madurai Meenakshi Temple. These are the 'Sma' Pillars with cleft tops described by G. Dubreuil as the 'Bulbous Capital'. The Shrine at the foot of the Mottaigopuram Northern Tower is dedicated to Mottaigopurathan or Muniyandi in which is kept an 'Aruval' one of the Royal emblems of the Thinite Kings.[57] A lamp with the cock emblem is seen in the adjoining Shrine known as that of Karuppanna which is different from that of the God Karuppanasamy with a flight of 18 steps at the Eastern Tower of the Madurai Temple. The former represents Kandan (கந்தன்) and the latter Ptah (Aiyanar).

In the Egyptian Osirian Cult the 'Zed' pillar represents Osiris and the Knot 'Isis' the Goddess.

The Granite 'Zed' pillar has four capitals arranged one above the other according to Egyptian perspective erected in the temple at Hieraconpolis by King Khasekhemui.[58]

The Zed pillar was known as the Pillar of Horus-Seth which represents the Papyrus reed pillar or the Sma pillar and the Knot of Isis, the 'Noose' found in one of the hands of Pillaiyar as well as in the hands of Sakti Goddesses.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-125.
56. H. K. Sastri, *op. cit.*. p. 188, fig. 118.
57. A. Moret & G. Devy, *op. cit.*, p. 131, fig. 4.
58. A. Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

The Elephant faced God and the Elephant clans are named Gajas or Ka Sas. It is significant that the Capital of XVIInome in Upper Egypt was named Kasa, the Gods of which were Anubis (Set) and Horus, son of Isis.

The oldest form or Zed-Pillar was erected by King Khasekhemui of the 2nd Thinite Dynasty. The name of this King may be split into 4 components Ka + Sa + Akham + Ui. Ka and Sa are the two clans representing the South and North of Egypt, as Seth and Horus. Akam means in Tamil, house, and Egyptian Ui = Union. The word Khasekhemui means "The Union of the House of Ka and Sa". The name Agastya of the Tamil Muni may be derived linguistically thus: Aga Sa Tya which will mean, Aga House, in Sinhalese, Sa, means King or God of the clan. The word Agastya will then stand for the House of Sa Kulasekhara Pandya, the founder of the Tamil Kingdom. It is associated linguistically with Kha/sekhemui, and is the variant of the Egyptian King's name.

The seat of the Tamil Muni Agastya was named Pothigay or Pothiya Malai derived from 'Pothakam' meaning an Elephant in Tamil. This territory will correspond to the Elephantine in Upper Egypt, the land of Set (Seyon), whose capital was Abu, the City of Elephants.

One of the ancient divisions of Pandya Nadu was called Murappu Nadu[59] named after Maruppu (மருப்பு) meaning the Tusk of an Elephant which was believed to be the seat of 'Pearls'.

Another ancient seat named after the Elephant in Tamil nad is Sindu-Punthurai on the river Porunai in Tirunelvely District. The name of this City may be derived from 'Sinduram' another Tamil name for Elephant. Names like Sindh, The Indus, and Indra may also be so derived. It is interesting to note that the Greek equivalent of 'Kasa' of Upper Egypt is 'Cyno-Polis'[60] (Sinopolis).

Maluvar: (மழுவர்) There were two Tamil tribes known as Maluvar (மழுவர்) and Mutharaiyar (முத்தரையர்) in Tanjore in ancient Tamil Nad. The word Malu (மழு) means a scythe

59. R. P. Sethu Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

60. A. Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

(அருவாளர்). Scythe is one of the emblems of regalia, of the kings of North Egypt. Nsut as pointed out previously meant "He who belongs to the plant Sut". Sut refers to Papyrus plant, an emblem of the North, and is represented as 'Bulbous' Capital in Pandyan architecture. The Maluvars are Pandyas with 'Scythe' and 'Papyrus Reed' as their totems. The Tamils were called 'Aruvar' or 'Aruvalar' by the Telugu. They lived in Aruvanad, north of the Kaveri Delta. Another name for Pandyas is Sentan which is identical with Sentiu tribes in Suez.

Mutharaiyar : (முத்தரையர்) This is a clan whose totem was the 'Pearl', and the tusk of the elephant (மருப்பு) became their totem. Maruppu Nadu was their ancient seat. They occupied a portion of Tanjore along with Pandyas in Tamil Nad. They fought along with Pandyas against the Cholas, under Pallavas in the 8th century A.D. according to Nilakanta Sastri.[61]

There is an ancient line of princes or chiefs or kings referred to in Kuruntokai as Katti mentioned by H. S. David.[62]

There was a great Chief of Egypt called Khata or Khati identified by Moncton Jones as Kheta (Muthenra).[63]

The ancient Tamil Chief Kheta may thus be identified as the Chief of Mutharaiyar (Muthu Pearl). The ancient Egyptian Prince of this line may be traced to IX dynasty.[64]

This ancient line seems to have become extinct in Tamil Nad, after the defeat of the Pandyas in Tanjore by the Cholas. The capital of the clan in Tanjore was also known as Sendalai, according to Nilakanta Sastri. This clan is also a Sentui tribe of Suez, as is the Pandyan 'Aruvalar' tribe.

To the elephant totem belong the Naickars (Ka) and the Pillai (Sa) clan. That the Dravidians of South India came from ancient Egypt and Palestine and Syria as colonisers and as

61. Nilakanta Sastri, *Cōlas,* Vol. I pp. 133-134.

62. H. S. David, *Tamil Culture,* Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 92.

63. M. E. Moncton Jones, *Ancient Egypt from the records,* p. 284 (quoted by M. Venkataratnam, *op. cit.,* p. 128).

64. A. Moret, *op. cit.,* p. 218.

refugees in different periods of their history by maritime routes is evident from the type of ships used by them in the old kingdom.

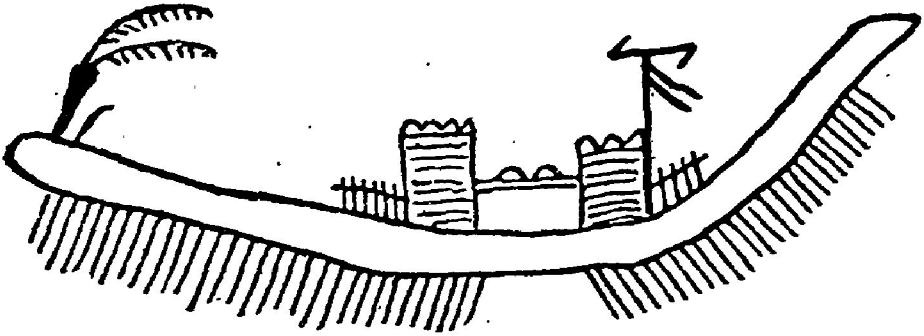

Fig. 6. Boat used in ancient Egypt. Boat surmounted by an Ensign.

David states that certain markings on the hull of mastless vessel at Mohenjodaro suggest that it was made of reeds bound together, a method of building, which was used for quite large boats in ancient Egypt.[65]

Conclusion: On the basis of indisputable evidence brought forward, the identity of the Dravidians of Southern India with the Dynastic Egyptians has been well established. There seems to have been an outward movement of those colonies to India, beginning from the VI Elephantine Dynasty as stated by W. J. Perry[66] around 2540 B.C. There was a land route of 3 miles distance between Palestine and the Nile known as Wady Tumilat. The word Tumilat is highly significantly connected with the word "Tamil".[67]

H. R. Hall states that the Dynastic Egyptians migrated to Nile Valley about 3300 B.C. "somewhere from E. E. of Egypt".[68]

Moret and Davy state that it is certain that a Mediterranean population occupied the whole Fertile Crescent, Palestine including, in the first third of 3000 B.C. and that Neolithic stations have been found at Gazer on Palestine plateau and at Megiddo they lived in natural caves or rock shelters called by the Egyptians Inntiu and there were coastal ports, later called Tyre, Sidon, Gaza which were centres of maritime activity.[69] The results of excavation and

65. H. S. David, *Tamil Culture,* Vol. V, No. 1, January, 1956, p. 64.
66. W. J. Perry, *op. cit.,* p. 461.
67. A. Moret and Davy, *op. cit.,* p. 228.
68. H. R. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East,* p. 90.
69. Moret and Davy, *op. cit.,* p. 208-209.

Cuneiform texts and Egyptian inscriptions of VI Dynasty indicate that an ancient Civilization existed in a population which cultivated wheat, fruits, bred cattle, skilled in weaving and metallurgy, etc., in Palestine and Syria. The Fertile Crescent extended from Egypt to the Persian Gulf. "It formed a gigantic crescent with its horns on the deltas of the Nile and the Euphrates".[70] (See Maps. Figs. 7 and 8).

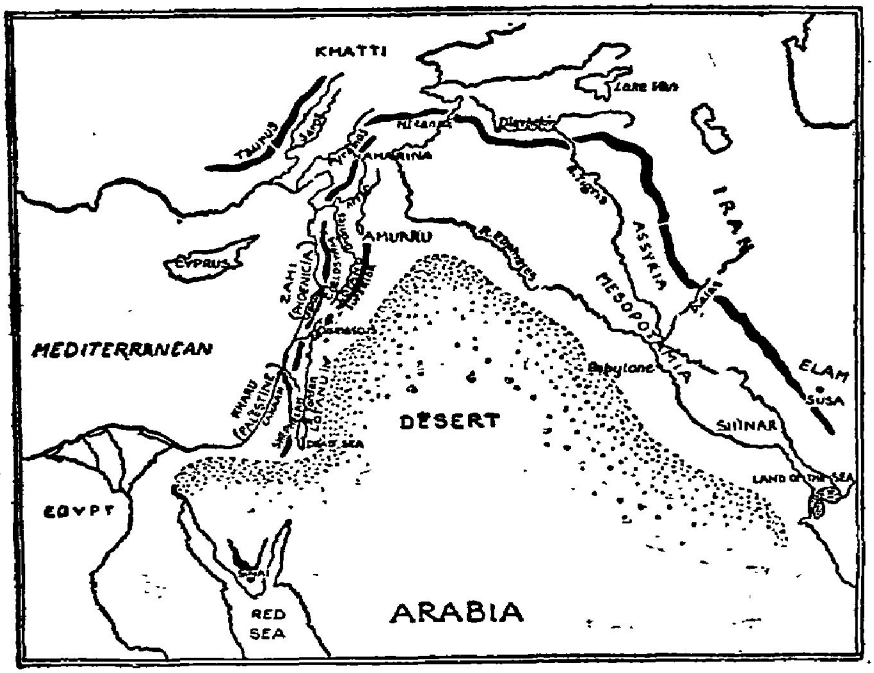

Fig. 7. The Fertile Crescent of the Ancient East

These writers mention that there is every reason for the belief that the early settlers found in Palestine, and terraces of Elam overlooking Mesopotamia, conditions of life favourable to civilization before the end of the fourth millennium B.C.[71]

W. H. Schoff has referred to the extent of South Indian trade with Egypt and other countries in third millennium B.C.

One of the kings of Second Dynasty Khasekhemui was called Horus-Set and I have referred to the Horus-Set Column represented in the "Bulbous Capital" of Dravidian Architecture and the Zed-pillar of Khasekhemui, which symbolised the Union or Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt in the IInd Dynasty, as identical emblems.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

W. J. Perry states that Khasekhemui is a double name.[72] I equated this name with Agastya of Tamil tradition above. Perry further states that Khasekhemui means the Wielder of two Sceptres and that archaic inscriptions dating from times prior to V Dynasty refer to "daily purifications of the King of South and

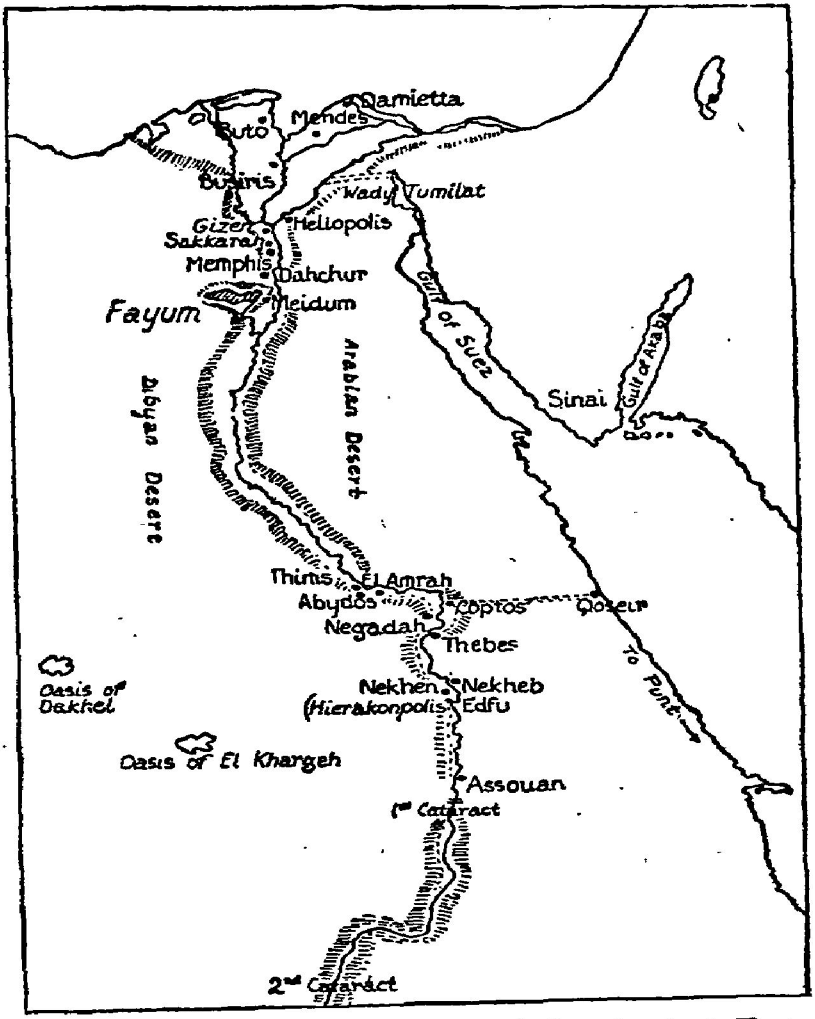

Fig. 8. The Fertile Crescent of the Ancient East

North, Double Lord Noutrini", and that the high-priests of Memphis and Heliopolis were called "Great Chiefs of Artificers" and "Great of Seeing" respectively, which were two in number. The "Great Chief of Artificers" is represented in the shrine of the God Karuppannaswamy with a flight of 18 steps at the Eastern Tower of the Madurai temple who is identical with the Egyptian 'Ptah'

72. W. J. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 272 and 273.

the Artificer and the "Great of Seeing", at the northern Mottai-gopuram of this temple which is dedicated to Muniyandi who is shown as a human head wearing glasses. These two shrines in the Madurai temple represent the Ptah-Osirian cult of the XVIII Dynasty, Egypt.

Tamil scholars are not able to decipher the origin and meaning of the word Neetar (நீத்தார் *Nīttār*) which may be identified with the Double-Lord Noutrini of ancient Egypt which stands for Kasekhemui or Agastya, the founder of Tamil kingdoms in South India. In Tamil literature Agastya is identified with Star Canopus, the names of nome in Western Delta of Egypt and another significant name is 'Ourvasiya' identical with Horites of Biblical tradition, meaning a town dweller and he was also called 'Kuru-muni' or a mountain Rishi.[73] The Dual organisation which is a characteristic feature of archaic civilization described by W. J. Perry is seen to exist similar to that of Egypt in Dravidian society in South India among the Cholas and Telugus and Pandyas and Pillais. (See Table I).

The names of kings and chiefs such as Ai, Cenni, Hide, Elini, Sentan, Alici, found in earliest Tamil literature are identical with names of kings and viziers of V and VI Dynasty such as Senezemib, Isi, Sesi, Idi,[74] Senti of II Dynasty and Ai of XVIII Dynasty.[75]

Totems such as Elephant, Dog, Fish, Solar, Disc, Falcon or Garuda, Thunderbolt, Mountain, which served as clan ensigns around 3000 B.C. in Egypt are found also to be the clan ensigns of ancient Dravidian tribes as Gazas (Kasas), (Elephant), Garudas (Falcon), Nagas (Serpent), Makaras (Crocodile) and Rakshasas (Ram). These have been equated to Dravidian tribes of historical times (see Table II). The dual organization which belonged to the Archaic Civilization among the Dravidians is characterised by caste-marks, White, being the colour of Upper Egypt, and Red, the colour of Lower Egypt. The Vaishnavite emblem is found on the arms and abdomen, and the Saivite emblem on the fore-head, of the architect of the first Pyramid who later came to be known as son of Ptah-Osiris (Asari).[76]

73. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, *Agastya in Tamil Nad*, pp. 1 & 3.
74, 75. W. J. Perry, *The Children of sun*, pp. 440 and 450.
76. Donald A. Mackenzie, *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, p. 368 (see Fig. 1).

The inscription in "Sundara Pandya Ponmeviya Mandapam" shows "Pandyan Royal Insignia"[77]. This figure should be compared with the illustration of Egyptian Regalia. [See Fig. 4, page 131, of Moret and Devy's book *From Tribe to Empire.*]

Note the whip, and the Crook along with the 'Zed' pillar and the Fish Emblem in the Pandyan Royal Insignia.

The archaeological and historical significance of Alagar Kovil near Madurai has not been correctly interpreted. Radhakrishna states that the existence of the fort and palaces go into the remotest past extending to the time of Periyalwar who is said to have lived about B.C. 3055.[78]

The marriages of Gods mean the union of tribes. Alagar Kovil represents the union of two clans, Alli, a Pandyan Princess marrying Arjuna, a Naga Prince. The city of Alagapuri consists of two forts, one fort called Alagapuri and the other fort of Iranyan or fort of Iravan. These two forts stand for the union of Chola and Pandyan kingdoms in prehistoric times and represent the Ptah-Osirian tradition of XVIII Dynasty.

S. K. Ray in his booklet on "Pre-historic India and Ancient Egypt"[79] mentioned that Selque(t) in Egyptian means Scorpion and the Goddess Selque(t) holds a scorpion on her head and that in the district of Howrah, there is a tradition to draw a Tetule-scorpion on the left leg of the Goddess Kali.[80] As proof of this, it is interesting to note that out of samples from the offerings in silver and gold made in Alagar Kovil, by the devotees, there is a 'scorpion' gift.[81] In proto-historic Egypt there were two kings called King Scorpion and Narma near Memphis.

In the Eastern Tower Shrine of "Karuppannaswamy with 18 steps" representing 'Ptah' the artificer Creator God of Egypt, cradles are presented in the Meenakshi temple in Madura. To the question why the figure 18 has been selected for the guardian

77. K. N. Radhakrishna, *Thirumal irunjolai malai* (Sri Alagar Kovil) Stalapurana, p. 32, fig. 3.
78. K. N. Radhakrisna, *Ibid.*, p. 1.
79. S. K. Ray, *Prehistoric India and Ancient Egypt*, p. 6.
80. A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, p. 473 (Map I *Lower Egypt and its Names*).
81. K. N. Radhakrishna, *op. cit.*, p. 249 (Fig. 28b).

of the door of the South, I would say that 18 steps mean XVIII Dynasty in Egypt when under the new Theban Empire, hereditary viziers were appointed. Rek-mara and User held the office of viziers of Upper Egypt when the office of the Vizier had to be divided, when a Vizier was appointed for Lower Egypt at Memphis and a Vizier for Upper Egypt at Thebes. Moret writes: "We know of a Theban family under the new Empire which supplied several viziers (User, Rekmara) and of a similar memphite family that of Phtahmes".[82] Rek-mara was a Vizier of Southern Egypt about 2560 B.C.[83] The names Rek-mara and User are highly significant as we know in Tamil Maran (மாறன்) means Pandyans, and User is Ur-vasiya in Tamil (Agastya). We may identify "Karuppannaswamy with 18 steps" with Phtahmes of XVIII Dynasty, as a dispenser of justice at Memphis. The Great Door in Alagar Koil stands for the 'Door of the South' Ptah in Ancient Egypt. We may thus suggest that Alagar Koil must have been constructed in Madurai not earlier than 1500 B.C. as the New Theban Dynasty lasted from 1580 to 1345 B.C. and it was the period when the Ptah-Osirian creed prevailed most in Egypt.

As regards the name 'Alagar' I would comment that this word is probably derived from 'Algum' meaning Sandal-wood.[84] Traditionally it stood for some resinous or odorous wood, as incense played a great part in ancient Egypt as reviving the dead and the Gods same as libations. It is stated on festive occasion, 500 measures of sandal-wood paste are brought from the shrine of Karuppannaswamy with 18 steps at Meenakshi temple to the Great Door with 18 steps at Alagar Kovil to be smeared on the Great Door. There is also the Great one of Southern Eighteen known as the Lord of Eighteen Bhaties with a white crown as Bengali Door of the South, described by S. K. Ray.[85]

S. K. Ray has brought evidence to show that there was an Egyptian occupation of Bengal by Kings of XVIII Dynasty during the time of Akhanaten about 1358-1355 B.C.[86]

82. A. Moret, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
83. S. K. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
84. P. Joseph, *Tamil Culture,* Vol. VI No. 2, April 1957, p. 223, on "Algumim of the Bible".
85. S. K. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 and 24.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Musical Pillars, Madurai temple

M. Venkataratnam has brought forward convincing evidence that Rama of Ramayana is identical with Rameses II of XIX Dynasty, 1300-1244 B.C.[87]

These archaeological evidences clearly establish the fact that the North-Eastern (Bengal) and Southern portions of India (Tamil Nad) were occupied by Dynastic Egyptians of the XVIII Dynasty and that they in the South established the three historical Dravidian kingdoms known as Chola, Pandya and Cheras. These people belong to a pre-Aryan age of Mediterranean peoples known as Pelasgians, Etruscans and Iberians who came to Egypt from the North side of the Black Sea, near the Caucasus, and from the West, from Libya and Spain and the Canary Isles. They occupied the Fertile Crescent including Palestine, Syria, Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, the cradle of Archaic Civilization, around the 4th millennium B.C.

87. M. Venkataratnam, *op. cit.*

STUDY OF WEIGHT STANDARDS OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS OF MĀMBALAM AND BOḌINĀYAKKANŪR HOARDS

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Standardisation is an essential feature of civilization and it is an index to human progress. The necessity for standardisation in every walk of life was well realised by South Indians long ago; and this may be said to be borne out by the standard weights of coinage as known from a study of two hoards of punch-marked coins in the Government Museum, Madras.

We also find coins having weights in simple multiples, for which there is reference in the *Manu Smṛiti,* to facilitate the easy exchange and purchase of commodities. Silver *Dharaṇa* or *Purāṇa* and a table of weights referred to in the *Manu Smṛiti* clearly indicate that there was a system of standardisation in *Paṇam*-Currency.

The graphical solution as given by Dr. Hemy gives us clear idea that the weights of coins appear to converge to a weight which seems to be a standard weight.

Māmbalam Hoard[1]

A big hoard of 770 silver punch-marked coins was found between the years 1928-29 in a house-site in Māmbalam, Madras. Along with these coins a single gold coin of the famous Roman emperor Augustus was obtained and this extraneous coin in a hoard of punch-marked coins, which can be dated with a certain amount of accuracy, helps us to fix the upper limit for the circulation of punch-marked coins which had served as the common currency of India for long and tends to confirm Vincent Smith's

1. For details of discovery etc. see *Administration Report of the Government Museum, Madras for* 1929-30.

suggestion made on similar grounds, that they were current at the commencement of the Christian era.

The hoard consists now, instead of 770 coins, of 808 coins due to some mixing up. However, this will not alter the standard weight found out by graphical solution. The coins were weighed, grouped and tabulated as in table 1.

TABLE 1

Range of wt. in gms.	Average wt. in gms.	No. of coins
1 to 1·2	1·1	3
1·2 — 1·4	1·3	0
1·4 — 1·6	1·5	4
1·6 — 1·8	1·7	6
1·8 — 2	1·9	8
2 — 2·2	2·1	37
2·2 — 2·4	2·3	82
2·4 — 2·6	2·5	220
2·6 — 2·8	2·7	240
2·8 — 3	2·9	148
3 — 3·2	3·1	42
3·2 — 3·4	3·3	15
3·4 — 3·6	3·5	1

If a curve (Fig. 1) is drawn with the data given in table 1, we get a peak value of 2·65 gms. (40·89 grains) to which an allowance for wear and tear during circulation, for inaccuracy of the balance of those days and for corrosion during its stuck up in earth for a long time, should be given to get the standard weight of the coin. Though it is possible for us to read the symbols, the depth of the punch-marks is not so much as it has been found in other coins cleaned first time after excavation in the chemical conservation section of Government Museum, Madras. And so loss of weight due to wear and tear will not be negligibly small. Microscopical examination of the coin, viewed on its end side, shows that corrosion has taken place to a considerable thickness. The metallurgical examination shows the presence of 'lamellar structure' of eutectic of copper and silver i.e. 28·1% *Cu* and 71·9% *Ag*. But by the analysis of the coins it has been found that presence of copper and silver is in 25% and 75% respectively. The reduction in copper, not a noble metal, is more and so the loss of

corrosion is considerable. Therefore I am inclined to consider the loss of weight due to the cumulative effect of all these factors would be about 6% instead of 1% as it has been suggested by Dr. Hemy,[2] for the coins obtained in North-Western Frontier of undivided India.

Giving the allowance of 6% to the peak value, the standard weight of coins comes to 43·5 grains and this coincides with the lower weight standard of 24 *ratis* taking the average weight of *rati* seed as 1·823 grains which has been established by Major General Cunningham by weighing more than 1000 seeds obtained from various places of this country. Here it is worthwhile to remember the *Dharaṇa* as 24 *raktikas* as it is mentioned by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa from the ancient astronomical books.[2a] The smallest weight unit of the Harappa culture i.e. 0·86 gms. (13·25 grains) is approximately one third of the 2·65 gms. (40·89 grains).

TABLE 2

No. of reverse symbols	No. of Coins
1	335
2	156
3	90
4	43
5	32
6	20
7	6
8	3

Fig. 3 shows the graph plotted with number of coins on y-axis and number of reverse symbols on x-axis. And this shows the rapid fall of number of coins with the increase in the number of reverse marks. Out of 808, 115 coins were not taken into account as the reverse symbols were not visible. The graph drawn shows clearly that "those with a higher number of reverse symbols were in circulation for a longer period".[3] The exponen-

2. *Royal Asiatic Society Journal,* 1937, pp. 1-26.
2a. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1801, p. 95.
3. Mr. Gairola, *Ancient India,* 1951, p. 79.

tial form of equation calculated for the graph drawn is $y = 637 \cdot 7 e^{-0 \cdot 6443x}$.

TABLE 3

No. of Reverse symbols		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Average wt in gms.									
1·1	..	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1·3	..	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1·5	..	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1·7	..	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	0
1·9	..	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
2·1	..	14	9	5	2	1	3	0	1
2·3	..	29	18	13	6	6	3	0	0
2·5	..	85	40	26	17	13	8	3	0
2·7	..	118	48	20	11	5	0	0	0
2·9	..	61	23	18	4	5	2	1	2
3·1	..	19	10	7	2	1	0	1	0
3·3	..	7	5	1	1	0	0	0	0
3·5	..	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
					No. of Coins				

Fig. 2 shows the curves drawn for each group of reverse symbols. The standard weight of such groups progressively falls down with the increase of number of reverse symbols. On plotting the standard weights of such groups on y-axis and number of reverse symbols on x-axis, we get a linear graph (Fig. 4) whose equation has been calculated to be $y = 2 \cdot 72 - 0 \cdot 03625x$, where y is the standard weight and x is the number of reverse symbols.

Does it not show that "the loss of weight between the successive reverse symbols is indicative of the length of the period during which the coins had been in circulation?"[4] Here it is necessary to note that the reverse symbols are supposed to have been punched when the coin passes from one jurisdiction to another. Hence the coins having more reverse symbols would have been in circulation for a longer period than that of fewer reverse symbols.

4. *Ibid.*

TABLE 4

Range of wt. in gms.	Average at in gms.	No. of coins
0·6 to 1	0·9	11
1 —1·2	1·1	14
1·2—1·4	1·3	243
1·4—1·6	1·5	725
1·6—1·8	1·7	125
1·8—2	1·9	10

Boḍināyakkanūr Hoard[5]

The table 4 gives the average weight of Boḍināyakkanūr silver punch-marked coins and the number of coins in each group. A graph (Fig. 5) drawn on Dr. Hemy's method, with these data gives the peak value 1·49 gms (22·99 grains) which is the standard weight of this hoard. This standard weight 22·99 grains does not agree with half of 24 *rati* standard, though it is nearer by a difference of 1·11 gr., which again is not negligibly small. If 22·99 grains is less than half the 24 *rati* standard, it is possible for us to account for the loss of weight by considering the corrosion and wear and tear and thus to justify the close agreement. On the contrary the Boḍināyakkanūr standard is more than the half of 24 *rati* standard.

The coins of the Boḍināyakkanūr hoard, are in mint condition and they show very little signs of wear and tear. Numismatists basing their conclusion largely on this factor, are of the opinion that the coins were not in circulation for long and that there is a possibility that they were buried under the earth soon after their issue. But what necessitated such a contingency, is not clear. But the fact remains, that they must have been withdrawn, while they were in quite a good condition.

The coins of the Boḍināyakkanūr hoard are unique in more than one respect. The symbols on them with the exception of the Sun and the Six-armed symbols do not have any symbol akin to

5. For details of discovery etc. see *Administration Report of the Government Museum, Madras* for 1941-42.

them on the ordinary Purāṇas. Similar coins were found in and around Madura and Tinnevelly, which were under the Pandyan rule. In all probability, the hoard is a Pandyan issue of punch-marked coins.[6] The solitary reverse mark, found on these coins which is reminiscent of Mauryan practice appears later on the reverse of cast or die-struck copper coins found in Madura and Tinnevelly. The reverse symbol on these coins is their *lāñchhana,* the fish. The hoard is of great interest as some of the symbols noticed above and their weight standard are quite different from those of the known punch-marked hoards from North India. The coins do not represent the usual *Purāṇa* or *Kārṣhāpaṇa* standard but they are probably struck for local use on a separate standard.

Further the silver representative of the primitive seminal exponent—*kaḻañju* weighing approximately 45 to 50 grains[7] has been used in inscriptions as coins and weights.[8] In those days ornaments like necklace made of *kaḻañju* (perhaps coins of gold weighing a *kaḻañju* each) were used by woman-folk.[9]

Even now we are able to see in villages rich women wearing necklace full of gold coins (காசுமாலை). From the inscriptions of South India we are given to understand that Tulai (துலை) is the standard weight accepted by law.[10] *Kaḻañju* has been called *Tulai Pon* (துலைபொன்) when it is the refined gold, subjected to burning, cutting, melting, and cooling and it is neither wanting in purity nor in weight.[11] Invariably the term *kaḻañju* has been used for gold and reference to silver *kaḻañju* is yet to be found. However considering *kaḻañju* as standard weight, I believe I may not be far away from the fact that the Boḍināyakkanūr standard will be the half of *Kaḻañju* standard. *Kaḻañju* weight was called *Kāhāpaṇa* in Ceylon.

6. *A Pandyan issue of Punch-marked Purānas, JNSI,* Vol. VI, p. 3.

7. *South Indian Coins* by T. Desikachari, p. 147.

8. *The International Numismata Orientalia, Coins of South India,* by Sir Walter Elliot, p. 51.

9. மறம் பாடிய பாடினியும் மே
எருடைய விழுக்கழஞ்சிற்
சீருடைய விழை பெற்றிசினே.
[புறநானூறு. க. க.]

10. *Madras Epigraphy Report,* for 1916, paragraph 8.

11. *Madras Epigraphy Report,* for 1912, paragraph 8.

Since on t he Boḍināyakkanūr punch-marked siver coins there is only one reverse symbol, it is clear that these coins did not pass from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. It was confined to · Pandyan jurisdiction only. From its weight and punch-marks it is clear that the coins were not in circulation for a long time. This confirms our idea that the coins having more reverse symbols would have been in circulation for a longer time than the coins with fewer reverse symbols.

Since fish symbol represents the state emblem, I am inclined to say that state authorities could have issued those coins. Mr. Aravamuthan is of the opinion that Boḍināyakkanūr coins must have belonged to 2nd century A.D. when the Sangam flourished at Madurai. We know that king's power was restricted by five Councils . which were known as the 'Five Great Assemblies' (ஐம்பெருங்குழு). One of the assemblies attended to the collection and expenditure of the revenue and the administration of justice. And also we understand that customs, tolls and land tax formed the main sources of revenue. After seeing all these will it not be correct to say that such a wonderful machinery of administration would not have been possibe without the controlled economy in the state which in turn seems to confirm the existence of standardisation in the weight of coins ?

Numismatists are of the opinion that standardisation is necessary only when the face value of the coin is greater than the actual metal value of the coin. The theory advanced by them is that, since in those days the face value of the coin was equivalent to metal value of the coin, it could not have been necessary for the people to have standardisation and for the same reason it was also not necessary for them to have state control over the issue of coins and hence controlled economy was no more essentia in those days.

If there was no control over the issue of coins, it was likely that merchants or guilds could have issued them. Perhaps the symbols are only to represent the merchants who had issued the coins and who were responsible for the value and the quality of the coins. If the value of the coin is only the metal value of the coin, then it is necessary to have one quality for all coins. We have analysed coins of different hoards, different shapes and of different symbols and found that the percentage of copper in silver varies widely. So it is clear that quality of the metal was not

maintained in those days. Supposing there was no weight standard for coin, then it would have been necessary for the shopkeeper to weigh each coin before the commodity was sold, as the value of the coin was the metal value of it. Weighing the coin every time in the shop would not have been a convenient method and so not feasible. Therefore standardisation in one form or other is essential. Since coins of different symbols and of various shapes of same weight have been found in many hoards, we can possibly assume that there could have been weight standard whether it is state controlled or under the control of a corporate body or chamber of commerce.

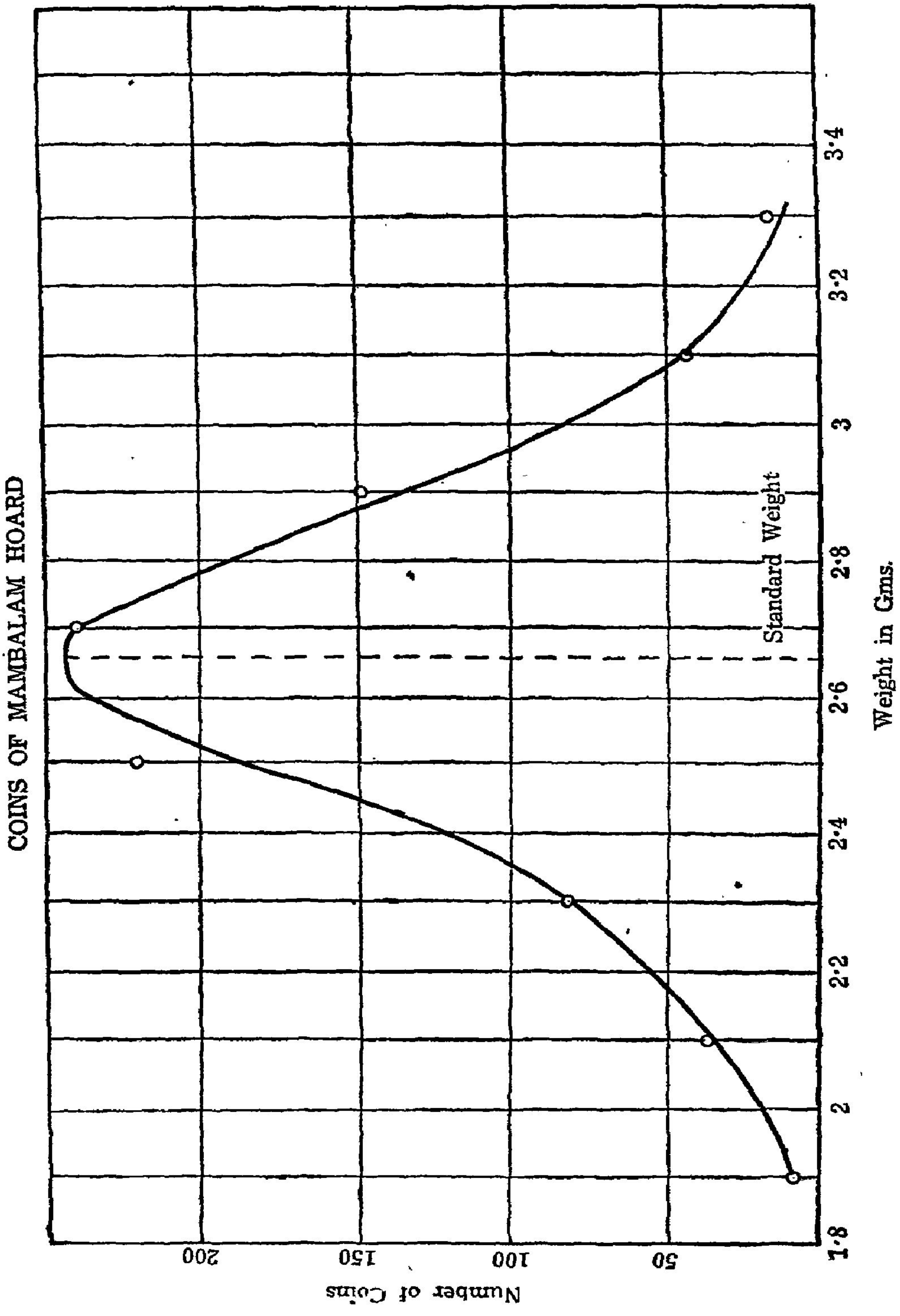
COINS OF MAMBALAM HOARD
Standard Weight
Weight in Gms.
Number of Coins
1·8
2
2·2
2·4
2·6
2·8
3
3·2
3·4
50
100
150
200

Fig. 1

COINS OF MAMBALAM HOARD

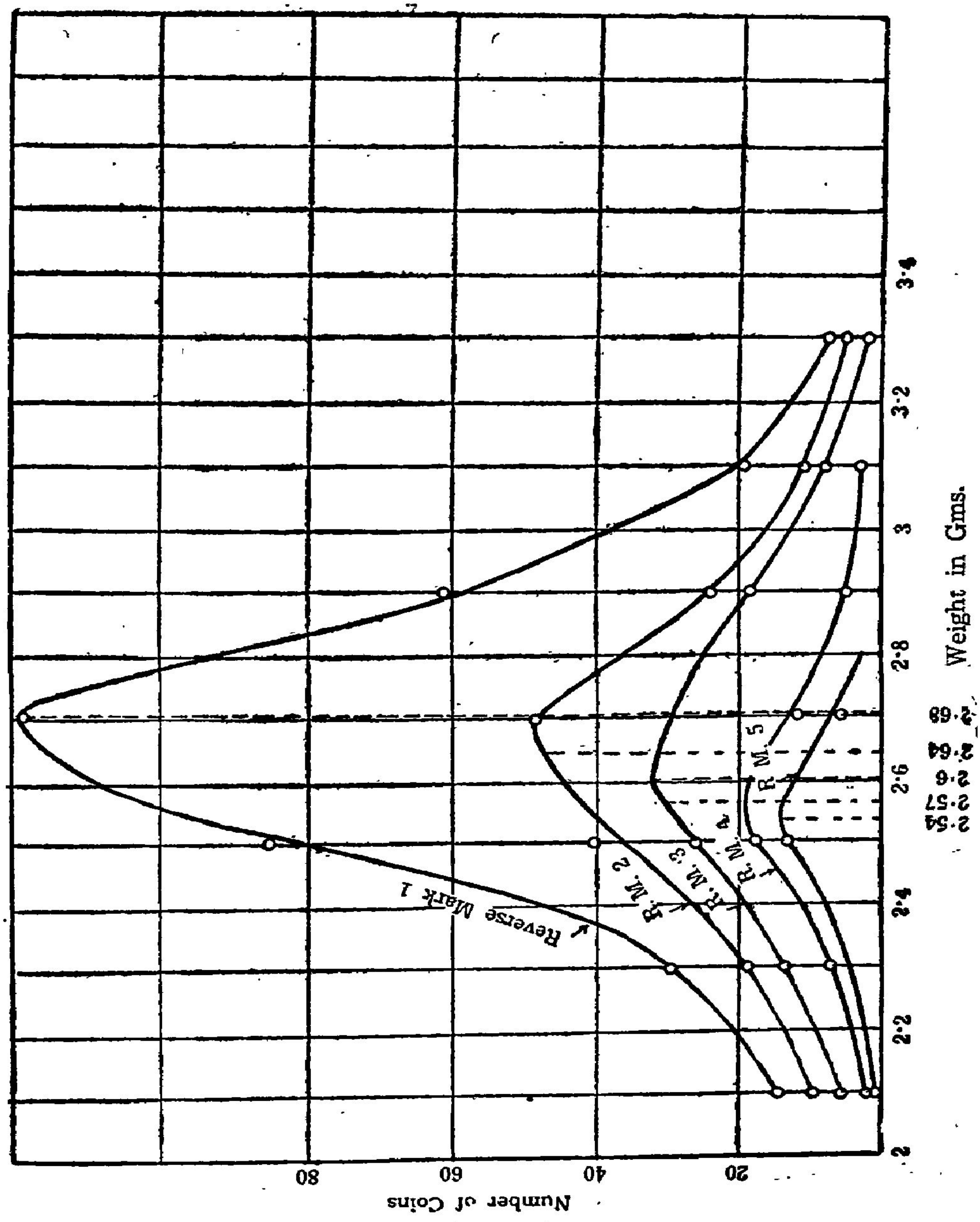

Fig. 2

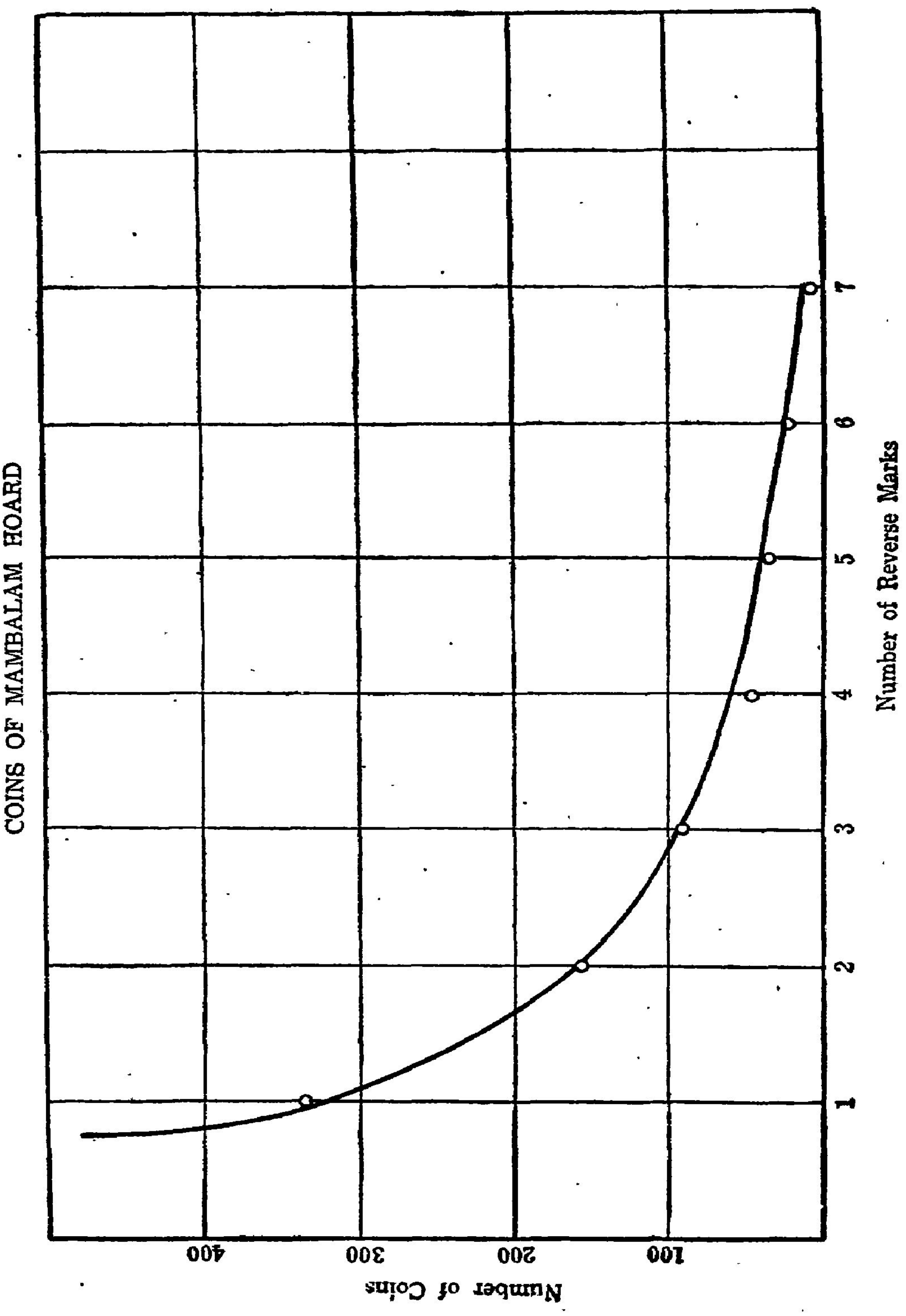
COINS OF MAMBALAM HOARD
400
300
200
100
Number of Coins
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Number of Reverse Marks

Fig. 3

COINS OF MAMBALAM HOARD

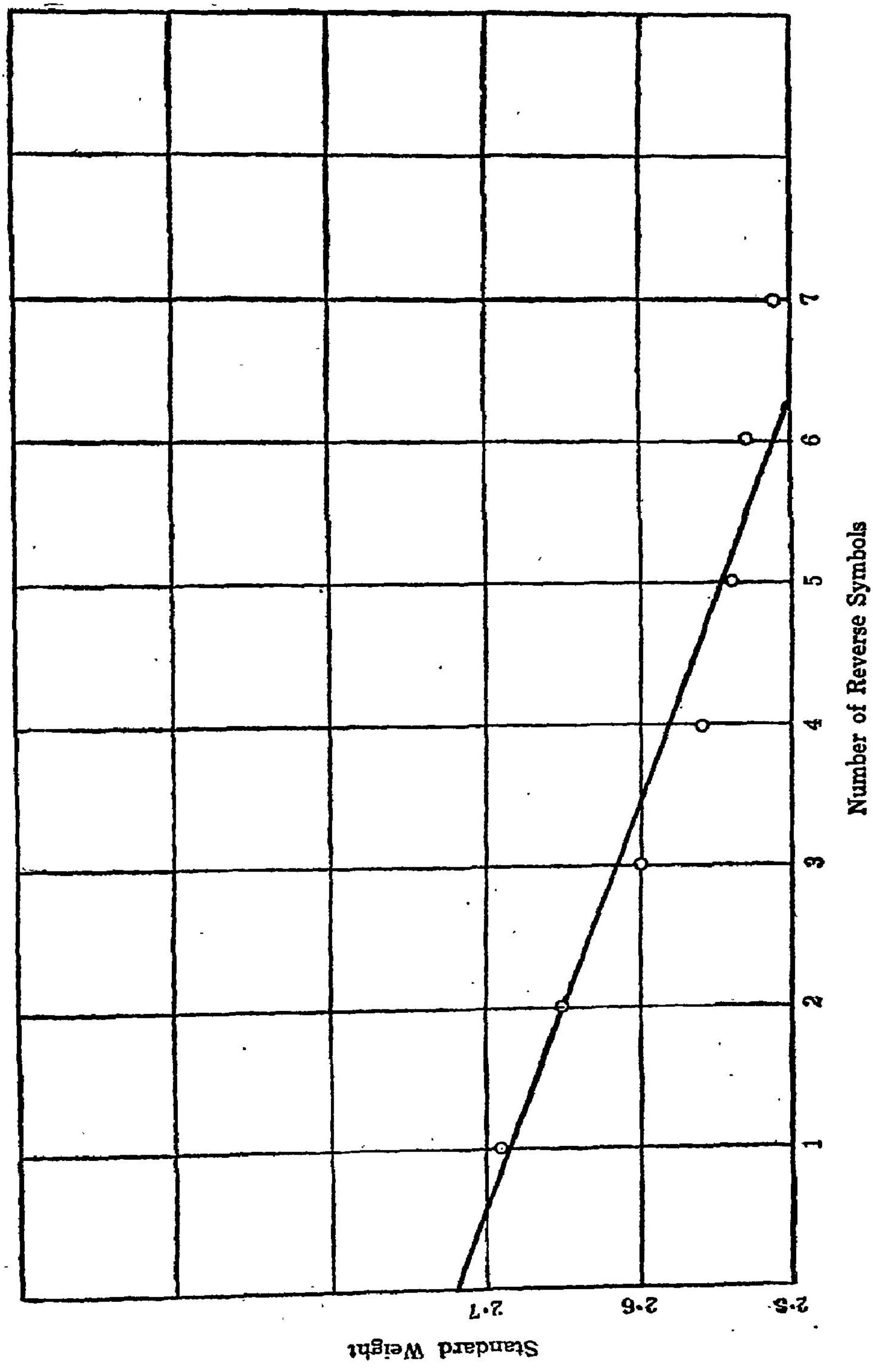

Fig. 4

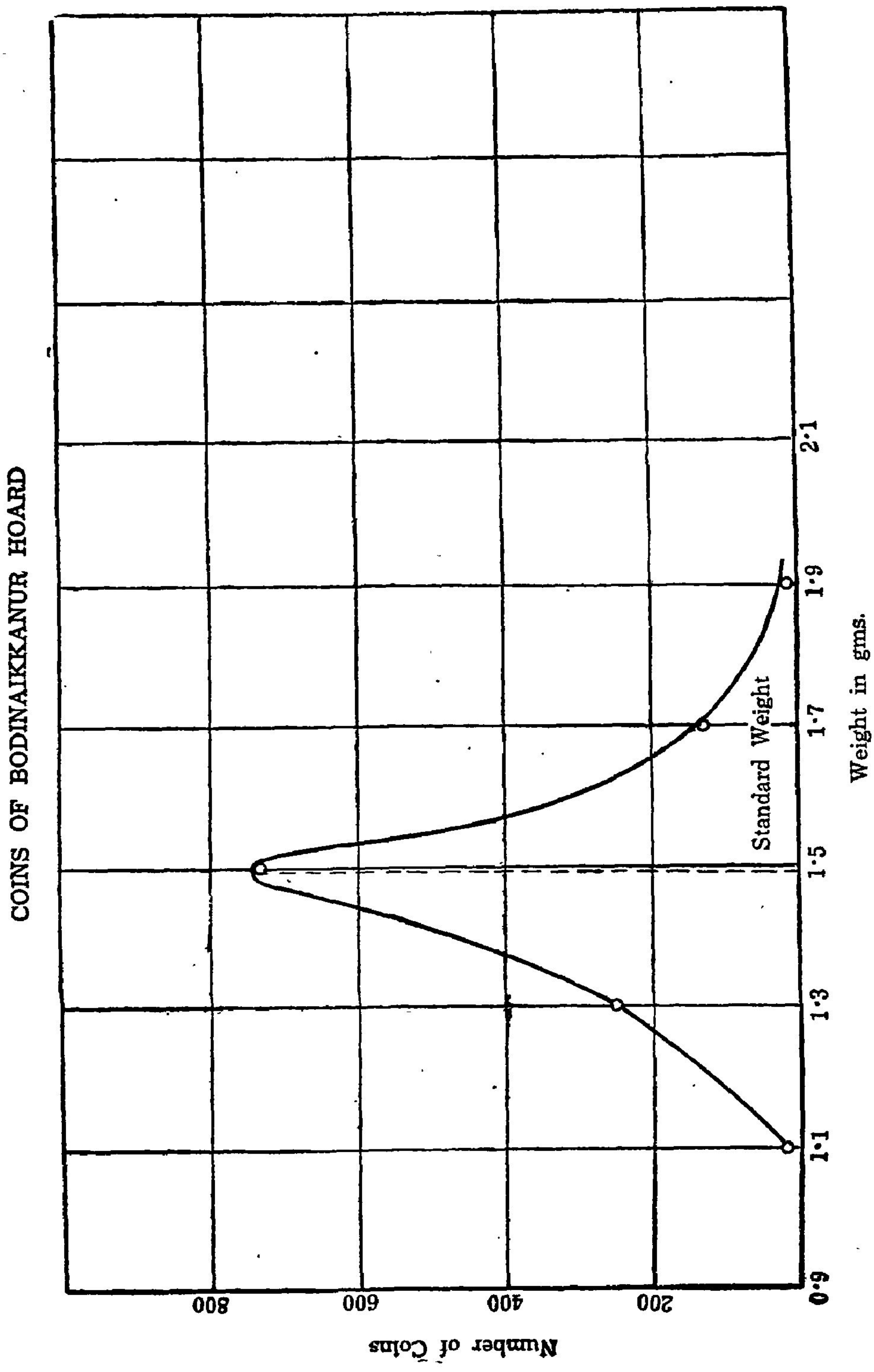
COINS OF BODINAIKKANUR HOARD
Standard Weight
Weight in gms.
Number of Coins
0·9
1·1
1·3
1·5
1·7
1·9
2·1
200
400
600
800

Fig. 5

MEETINGS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA DURING 1957-58

3-8-1957. Annual Meeting.
Speaker: Annual address by Sri P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice, Madras.

12-8-1957. Speaker: Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India.
Subject: Tanjore and Its Importance in Art and Culture.

12-11-1957. Speaker: Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India.
Subject: The Recent Discoveries in Nagarjunakonda.

16-11-1957. Speaker: Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India.
Subject: Further Light on Indus Civilization.

17-12-1957. Speaker: Dr. J. T. Cornelius.
Subject: Are Dravidians Dynastic Egyptians?

19-12-1957. Speaker: Dr. George T. Artola, Baltimore.
Subject: Pancatantra in the Literature and Art of South India.

21-1-1958. Speaker: Mr. James C. Harle, Oxford.
Subject: Iconography of Some 12-13th Century Gopuras.

28-2-1958. Speaker: Sri T. N. Subrahmanian.
Subject: A New Pallava Copper-plate Grant.

16-3-1958. Speaker: Dr. Ernst Waldschmidt Professor of Sanskrit, Gottingen University.
Subject: Traces of Indian Culture in Central Asia.

31-3-1958. Speaker: Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Professor of Archaeology, University of Madras.
Subject: Pallava Skandasishya II.